THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Pope and the Bombing

In general, Catholics throughout the world have acted well in regard to the bombing of Rome. With few exceptions, they have recognized the fact that the utmost care was taken to bomb only military installations; that Mussolini had deliberately put such installations near churches; and that the Allies had tried for years to persuade the Fascists to declare Rome an open city. Particularly sensible, in our opinion, was the attitude of the American Catholic weekly, The Commonweal, which said:

> There is something disturbing in the fact that the announcements which have accompanied the bombing of Rome have so distinguished Rome from all other cities.
>
> The announcements embarrass Catholics because they make it look as if Catholics would accept anything so long as certain buildings in a certain city were respected. They make it look as if Catholics could be counted on to be silent when civilians accidentally die as a result of bombing when these civilians were German, Japanese, Frenchmen in occupied France, Italians in Naples, in Genoa, but could not be counted on to be silent when these civilians were Italians in Rome.
>
> They make it look as if Catholics thought there must be one justice for Rome and other justice for all other cities in the world.
>
> Catholics therefore can stand the bombing of the marshaling yards in Rome. In the measure that they have the faith of Peter, they can stand the threat to Peter's tomb.

Among those who have come out of this matter with diminished prestige is the Pope. It is true that the Vatican vigorously denied having protested to President Roosevelt, as the German and Italian news agencies had said. However, the Pope could not deny his letter to the Vicar General of Rome lamenting the bombing. We believe that most people who read this letter, and especially in Italy, must have felt that the Pope's weight of condemnation was heavier on the Allies than on the Axis.

The Pope has insisted that he is neutral in this war; but this is an equivocal position that is bound to do more and more harm to his prestige as the defeat of the Axis grows more imminent. Even the overthrow of Mussolini, bringing to an end, officially at least, the Fascist regime in Italy, has made his position embarrassing. To be neutral in this war is to be neutral between freedom and slavery, between truth and falsehood. No one can believe that if the Vatican happened to be located in England or the United States, the Pope would be neutral, any more than the majority of the leading Catholic spokesmen of Great Britain and the United States are neutral. All liberal Catholics throughout the world will necessarily look with anxious eyes to Rome in the near future for some sign that the Pope is attempting to get himself out of the impossible moral dilemma in which, largely through historical and geographical accident, he has been placed.

Is There a France?

The Polish government in exile has just given formal recognition to the French Committee for National Liberation. Brazil is about to do the same. Uruguay, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia have done likewise. It is an open secret that Russia and Great Britain are both eager to do this, and are bringing all the pressure they can on

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Washington to have the United States participate. Yet this country, according to Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle Jr., will take no such action until France has been liberated and has had an election. By that time of course our recognition won't matter.

President Roosevelt's unhappily worded "there is no France" brought from many people the observation that if there is no France, none of the other occupied countries has any existence either. Mortimer Hays of the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy wrote to the President and Secretary Hull urging that the French committee be recognized, and Mr. Berle was evidently selected to reply. He makes the point in his letter that most of the governments in exile are made up largely of men who were duly elected to office before their countries were overrun. This is not the case with the French, says Mr. Berle. No one is entitled to speak for them, and therefore "the only truly democratic course" is to refrain "from recognizing any group of Frenchmen as the government of France until the French people are liberated and are again in a position to exercise their free will in the choice of their leaders." In the meantime, however, we shall coöperate with individual Frenchmen who have escaped, "in all matters dealing with the prosecution of the war."

This seems to us to be merely playing with words. So far as we are aware, no one has asked that the French committee be recognized as a government. All that anyone proposes is that it be given a real chance to work on behalf of the liberation of France. The notion that we alone appreciate what a democracy should or should not do, and that Great Britain, Russia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., do not, seems an unwarranted piece of national egoism. All that is asked of this country is that it coöperate with de Gaulle and Giraud together, as co-chairmen of the committee, as much as we were prepared to coöperate with Giraud alone. It is The New Republic's guess that we will probably join the British and the Russians in giving legal status to the committee, a few weeks hence. In that case Mr. Berle's "never, never, never" is going to look pretty silly, if someone digs it up and reminds him of it. And someone is sure to.

A Program for Survival

The thing to remember about the Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe, held in New York City from July 20 to July 25, is that it was not the first conference. There have been other conferences, all of which have failed. They failed because, as at Bermuda, they refused to consider the actual problem of how to get the Jews *out* of Europe; or they failed because the Allied governments remained unconvinced of the necessity of exerting themselves to rescue the Jews.

If the present conference fails it will not be through fault of its own. The Emergency Conference worked out a nine-point program calling for the removal of the Jews from Europe by road, rail and steamship into neutral countries for temporary asylum, while the Allies provide food and shelter and undertake to conduct them into their own territories. Many roads of escape lie open. There is the overland road from Turkey into Palestine; there are the overland roads to Spain, Switzerland and Sweden. In addition to these land routes the conference reported that there is enough neutral shipping to remove 50,000 Jews a month from Europe. The conference further recommended that the Allied governments pledge themselves to acts of reprisal against Nazi atrocities and utilize predominantly Jewish manpower to carry out such threats. Most important of all, the conference proposed the creation of a special Allied agency whose work is not to stop until all of the 4,000,000 Jews still alive in Hitler's Europe have either been rescued or provided with every available means for rescue.

The conference's only failure was its neglect of the European underground movement, a serious political oversight, for the underground has armed the Jews in the Polish ghettos and helped them organize resistance against the Nazi murderers. But the proposals the conference made are, nevertheless, excellent, concrete and workable. It is now up to the Allies.

Who Will Save the Jews?

Immigration to the United States would be one of the most important steps. We cannot expect our government to admit 4,000,000 Jews, but we can insist that it at least allow temporary immigration within the European quota. The law allows a total of about 150,000 European immigrants a year. Within the last five years immigration has dwindled to a mere 20 percent of quota. We could thus save some 750,000 Jews merely by fulfilling our quota of the last five years.

Unless the Allied governments take such initiative in rescuing the Jews of Europe, the smaller countries, the neutrals, and surely the Axis satellites, will have little reason for doing so. Secretary Hull informed the conference that the State Department will "gladly consider" its suggestions. But if these suggestions, after formal consideration, are shoved away in the files and gladly forgotten, all faith in the intentions of the Allies will become folly, and the only means whereby the Jews of Europe can still be helped—to fight back, no longer to escape—will be through the underground, the bands of brave men without spokesmen and without official authority who have thus far proved themselves the only ones who think that saving the Jews is worth the risk.

Thinking About Germany

The most terrifying words to come out of Washington in a long time were the President's statement on July 23 that, as The New York Times quoted him,

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"absolutely nothing has been done about deciding upon the post-war disposition of Germany." If this is true—and we cannot imagine that the President would misstate such an important issue—this country has been guilty of unbelievable negligence. Presumably we shall try to improvise a policy toward Germany at the last moment, despite the obvious fact that improvisation won't work. Meanwhile Russia is not waiting for impromptu inspiration. A new National Committee for Free Germany has been set up in Moscow. It has addressed a manifesto to the Germans telling them what to do. The German army is instructed to fall back inside the German frontiers; strikes, sabotage and insurrection against Hitler are demanded. While we train American executives, at Charlottesville, to run occupied territory, a school in Moscow is training Germans to go home and rule Germany. The new committee is not technically a part of the Soviet government, but obviously it has Stalin's blessing. It may be in part a reply to the stuffy and timid conservatism of Amgot in Sicily. In any case it should hardly be necessary to point out to Churchill and Roosevelt the very great dangers they run in letting Russia act alone on this highly important political front.

Teachers and Democracy

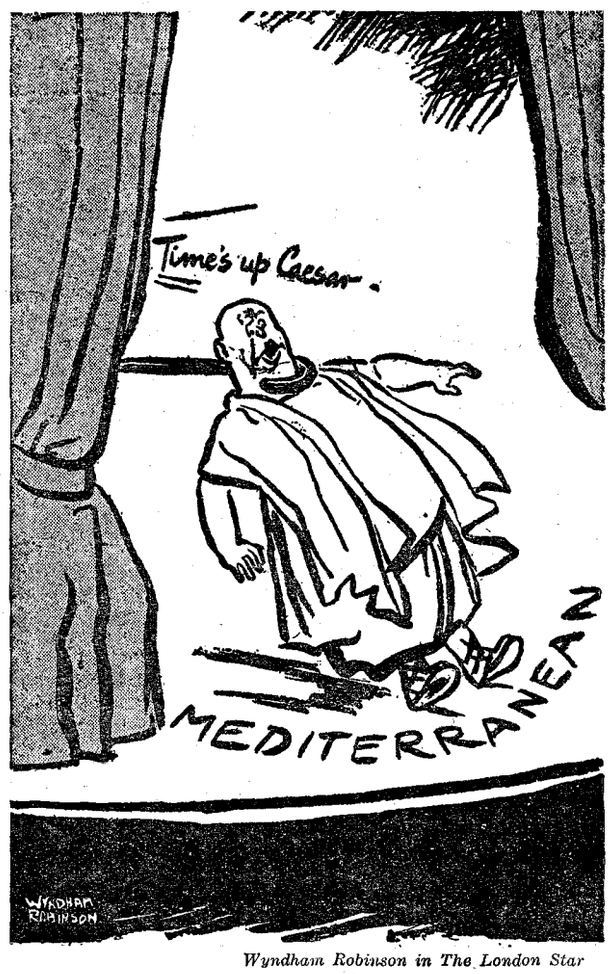
The National Education Association at its recent Indianapolis meeting passed a resolution not to hold future conventions in cities which practise racial discrimination in the matter of housing, feeding or seating convention delegates. Some of the Negro delegates had been refused service in nearby restaurants and were forced instead to walk to the Negro section of Indianapolis. That the resolution was introduced and passed—over numerous attempts, inspired by the executive committee, to sidetrack it—is a credit to the majority of the NEA's rank-and-file membership. But it is not a credit to this professional society of teachers in a democracy that some 40 percent of the membership voted consistently against the resolution and that NEA executives apparently tried hard to prevent the resolution from getting publicity. According to our informant, who witnessed the session, not one of the dissenters dared to make a speech in favor of discrimination; but this bloc nevertheless voted on four occasions to kill the mandate to the executive committee, which is now ordered to try to prevent discrimination at the next convention.

How to Raise Prices

According to semi-official estimates, at least 125 OPA officials will have to be released as a result of the congressional order that nobody could hold an executive post in the pricing division unless he had five years' business experience. The men who are losing their jobs are, for the most part, trained administrators. The men who replace them, no matter how able they may be, will have to learn how the government operates before they can be of much service. But there is a real question whether Administrator Brown can find the able business men he is now looking for. When he approached representatives of the grocery trade, they are said to have told him that there was little chance of getting key men to aid the agency "unless it was shown"—we are quoting from a dispatch to The New York Times—"that the policies which had drawn fire from the industry would be discontinued." Apparently the grocery trade won't coöperate unless Mr. Brown promises to give it what it wants, including higher prices for groceries. The women's rayon-hosiery industry is said to have given the same sort of answer. Here is a splendid example of the fashion in which Congress itself has been acting as an Office for Raising Prices (ORP). By one and the same provision in an appropriation bill, it not only further disrupted the OPA, which was sufficiently disorganized already, but also put it at the mercy of the industries whose prices it was supposed to control.

Portal-to-Portal Abroad

In the discussion of portal-to-portal pay for coal miners, one aspect that has been overlooked is the situation in other countries. According to the International Labor Office, all over the world, in all countries except



Wyndham Robinson in The London Star

Last Act!

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the United States, it is the almost universal practice to pay miners for their travel time while on mine property. It is also the general practice all over the world to forbid by law a miner's staying underground more than eight hours a day. As far back as 1935, the American delegation to the International Labor Office was being twitted on the fact that we are a conspicuously backward nation in this regard.

The situation is reminiscent of that some years ago in the steel industry. In 1922 when "the long day in steel" was a burning public issue, an inquiry made of the ILO revealed the fact that of the fifteen steel-producing countries of the world the United States was the only one that clung to excessive working hours. That fact played an important part in changing the minds of the steel-mill owners. Whether the coal-mine owners can or cannot afford to maintain decent working conditions, the United States itself cannot afford to see 500,000 coal-miner citizens forced to labor under conditions that menace their health and prevent a decent American standard for themselves and their families, either in financial terms or in terms of the day's toil and its relation to the life of the home.

Italy After Mussolini

HOWEVER YOU LOOK AT IT, the ousting of Mussolini is a great historic event. It is a symbol that the strong currents of our world are running against the fascist movements which Mussolini was the first to proclaim more than twenty years ago. Those twenty years have been, for the Italian people, ghastly and scarred years, empty of either dignity or effectiveness. Mussolini's whole career has been a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. The end of this Sawdust Caesar will be, for historians, the preliminary step to the similar end of his comrade in Germany, the Sinister Caesar. Together they will show that not only has fascism been a crime against the human spirit, but also a crime that did not work.

So much for Mussolini, with whom the events of the coming years will now wholly dispense. But does the end of Mussolini also mean the immediate end of fascism in Italy? The answer to this depends on what the forces were which pushed Mussolini out.

As this is written, it is not yet clear whether the ouster was a genuine bid for peace or merely a clever stratagem to keep Italy in the war. The King's appointment of Badoglio in Mussolini's place, and Badoglio's proclamation stressing the traditional loyalties of the Italian people to the monarchy, may mean that the new set-up is only a front for a continued, if a politer, fascism. There have for months been reports of behind-the-scenes conferences both in Rome and in Madrid, in which it is quite probable that plans were laid for the steps to be taken when the Italian people could no longer stomach Mussolini. And the move to replace Mussolini with Badoglio has long been predicted by the observers who have had experience with fascism and who know how it operates when it is in a tight spot.

No spot could be tighter than the one in which Italian fascism now finds itself. Resistance in Sicily has, at the present writing, almost collapsed. The desertions of Italian soldiers grow hourly. Italians are, very sensibly, showing that they have no intention of dying in a war to defend a rotten fascist system against democracy. If the King and Badoglio had waited, there can be little doubt that revolution would have swept over Italy. Even now it is still possible that the revolution cannot be stopped.

The Badoglio move may, therefore, be only a trick for carrying on the war and staving off revolution. Or it may be a genuine first step in the bid for peace by Italy. If it is the latter, then Badoglio's words about going on with the fighting may be only shrewd bargaining for better terms, or they may be simply the expression of an old soldier's sense that honor demands at least a strong show of resistance.

Whatever the motivation of Mussolini's ouster—whether it be a new front for the old fascism or a bid for peace—certain things are crystal clear. This victory for our side was not achieved by shrewd diplomacy nor by behind-the-scenes manipulation on our part. It was achieved by the strength which the Allied armies have shown in the invasion of Sicily. And it was achieved by the collapse of the Italian will to fight against democracy, and by the instant threat of the flare-up of the long smoldering revolutionary resentments.

What about our policy toward Italy, now that Mussolini is out? There are several principles we must keep firmly in mind.

The first is that we cannot parley with any government, whether it has contritely separated itself in reality from fascism, or whether it is still the fascist hyena in the sheep's-clothing of the monarchy. Our Casablanca policy of Unconditional Surrender admits of no softening, no qualification, no exceptions. Our armies must go on battering Sicily and Italy with renewed intensity, now that we know for certain that the Italian people have had a bellyful both of their rulers and the war, and want nothing of either. If the American people ever learn that their government has, while professing to follow the Casablanca policy, actually made certain understandings and deals as the basis for peace, all Hell will break loose.

And this leads to the second principle. The crucial problem we must now consider is what to do about the organization of power in Italy when her unconditional surrender is accomplished. And the firm principle we must adhere to is that we can give no commitments to the present Italian authorities that their power will be retained in any sense or under any forms. To do so would not only be a violation of the letter and

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spirit of the Casablanca conference. It would be a betrayal of the democratic cause to fascism.

Let us not be naïve about the fascists. They are not yet through in Italy. Their fighting strength is rapidly approaching zero. But they will use every stratagem they can, every device of diplomacy and intrigue, every appeal to our fears of revolution and communism, in order to entrench themselves in power after Mussolini. Everything that we know about any form of power shows that it is tenacious, tries to dig itself in. And this is particularly true of the fascists, who worship power, who have studied it, who have made power not only a means but an end in itself.

The question is whether our government and the British will be fools enough to play into their hands. There are some signs that we have finally learned from past experience. The radio broadcasts to Europe by the overseas division of the OWI take the line that Mussolini's ouster does not change the situation in any material sense, and that Italian fascism is still in the saddle and must still be fought. Since this is aimed primarily at the Italian people, it means that the OWI believes that the people are the crucial element in the situation, and that their anti-fascist feeling can still be tapped. Moreover, both the Roosevelt-Churchill manifesto to the Italian people right after the invasion of Sicily and General Eisenhower's excellent message at that time puts us on record as at war not only with Mussolini but also with Fascist power and Fascist doctrine.

This gives us a clear line of action. There is no question here of striking out in new and revolutionary directions. It is wholly a question of adhering to the direction we have already laid down.

But there are signs that our government may betray these principles unless the American people demand adherence to them. It has long been suspected that our State Department policy has distinguished between Mussolini and politer adherents of Fascist policy, a category that would include Badoglio. It has also been well known that the State Department has been careful to distinguish between Italian fascism and the House of Savoy. And finally, it is becoming increasingly clear that our military occupation authorities, or Amgot for short, are not dismissing the Fascists from the territory which our armies have conquered. It seems that if you are a little Fascist—one of the local Fascist bosses whom the Italians call *ras*—then you can stay on. Of course we recognize that a city has to be administered, and that you cannot turn out all the officials without causing confusion. But there can be no health in local administration of conquered territory if the key men even in the small towns are allowed to remain—even though they may have forsworn fascism at the final moment of the landing of our troops. In fact, it is well known that the most corrupt and barbarous Fascists have been local bosses and police officials.

Another straw in the wind that should cause concern is our government's intention to stay clear of the anti-Fascist leaders who had chosen to emigrate from Italy rather than become the lackeys of Mussolini. This includes men of great intellectual ability and great moral force, such as Count Carlo Sforza and Gaetano Salvemini. Our government has no right to take such a stand. These are the men who have loved Italy and democracy so much that they have been willing to risk their lives and stake their careers on their belief in both.

There is only one morally honorable and politically wise course of action for the President to follow. He must make it clear that there can be only unconditional surrender for Italy. He must make it clear that the ousting of Mussolini is not equivalent to the ousting of Fascist power. He must make it clear that in our military administration of Italian territory we will dispense with Fascists of every degree and persuasion, including those who turned their coats at the twelfth hour. And he must make it clear, finally, that the American government will not undertake to tell the Italian people whom they should choose to govern them. We must give them a clean slate, and then let them write on it. But to give them a clean slate means wiping the monarchy off as well as the Fascist Party—a monarchy, let it be remembered, which was either so stupid or so criminal as to surrender to the Fascists twenty years ago, and to be the lackey of the Fascists ever since.

Then, when the Italian people are ready to vote in a free election, they can choose a monarchy or a republic, and within that framework whatever leaders they prefer. Only thus can we fulfill our duty both toward the Italians and toward our soldiers.

Wallace Speaks Out

VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE'S speech in Detroit was not only the finest utterance of his career but the finest expression by any American public official in many years. Nothing that he said will seem particularly new or startling to New Republic readers, but for a highly placed public official to speak out so eloquently and strongly in favor of economic as well as political democracy, of the rights of the common man, of the great possibilities that lie ahead if we can only strip off the shackles of the inert past—this is news of the highest importance.

Mr. Wallace reiterated the fact that he is in favor of capitalism; no one expected him to be against it. But he is in favor of "the capitalism of abundance," of full employment. He is opposed to "a capitalism of scarcity such as that which produced both 1929 and 1932." When he urged us to plan world coöperation, he was not an idealistic visionary; he was speaking the practical, hard common sense which can alone prevent a world war every twenty years or so until the remnants of civilization collapse into the quagmire of sav-

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agery. His inventory of our six assets in the peacetime world is a thrilling one. We shall have when the war ends, he points out, manpower by the million; the largest industrial plant capacity in the world; vast resources both natural and artificial for the making of peacetime products; the largest agricultural equipment, on scientific lines, in the world; a huge backlog of requirements for housing, transportation, communications and living comforts, and the greatest reserve of accumulated savings by individuals that any nation has ever known. The Vice President properly asks: With such wealth, who says this nation is now bankrupt?

Inevitably, Mr. Wallace's magnificent call to arms for the liberals will be read against the background of recent political events. Even before the public dispute with Jesse Jones, it was well known that President Roosevelt's conservative advisers, seemingly almost the only ones to whom he listens nowadays, had urged him to discard Mr. Wallace as his running mate if he decides to try for a fourth term, and to substitute some safe middle-of-the-road political figure like Jimmy Byrnes. As we pointed out last week, the President's action in the Wallace-Jones affair was far more a slap at the Vice President than at the Secretary of Commerce. Wallace has done a good job; Jones, a bad one. Jones was the aggressor, seeking through congressional influence to hamstring the Board of Economic Warfare; Wallace struck out only to save the board and in the interest of success in the war. The President was completely wrong, in our judgment, to say in such circumstances, "A plague on both your houses."

Mr. Wallace's Detroit speech indicates that he does not intend meekly to accept his political death sentence. No man who can speak as he does can be ignored, and least of all by President Roosevelt if he intends to run again.

For it is becoming clearer every day that the President cannot win without the full support of labor, the progressive element among the farmers, and the liberals. A change of less than 2,500,000 votes in the total of 49,500,000 in 1940, would have brought about a Republican victory, and there is no reason to believe that the Republican vote will be less in 1944 than it was in 1940. But in fact, the decisive vote was much smaller than that. If you exclude those Southern states which always go Democratic, and those Northern states which practically always go Republican, you have left a comparatively small number where often the vote is extremely close. Illinois, for example, would have gone Republican in 1940 with a change of only 51,000 votes out of 4,100,000. About 250,000 votes out of 3,200,000 would have changed the result in California. A change of 69,000 votes among 2,000,000 would have swung Massachusetts. All these states went for Roosevelt in 1940; among them they have 68 votes in the Electoral College. In these three states the independent liberal vote is certainly more than the 370,000 necessary to swing all three of them. The vote was also close in many other states, such as Connecticut, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin.

The President's political advisers ought to study these figures with the utmost care. We recognize, as everyone must, that Mr. Roosevelt is the leader of the democratic forces not only in the United States but throughout the world. He has qualities of political acceptability that Mr. Wallace does not, even though the Vice President is a far more popular figure than his conservative enemies, inside the Democratic Party and out, are willing to admit. But there is a strong probability that Mr. Willkie may be the Republican candidate. There is no denying the fact that he has grown enormously since 1940 and is at this moment a more powerful voice for world coöperation and for some aspects of democracy at home than is the President, immersed as he is in immediate tasks of the war. It is perfectly possible that enough independent liberals would vote for Willkie to give him the election as against a ticket of Roosevelt and Byrnes. Alternatively, enough liberals, disheartened by Roosevelt's recent swing to the right, might stay away from the polls to produce the same results.

We can understand the pressure on the President from the conservatives, the seeming plausibility of their argument that liberalism is a luxury you can't afford in wartime. We submit, however, that it is something the President cannot afford to be without, and least of all if he wants to remain in the White House to finish the war and shape the peace. If it had been possible for him to make Wallace's speech, it would have been a triumph worth many divisions to us on the battle fronts and not far from a guarantee of victory at the polls in '44. It is not yet too late for the President to make the Wallace policy his own and to signalize that fact by inviting the Vice President to be his running mate once again.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Report on the Middle West

In many ways, the Middle West reminds me today of a tired but voluble old reformer who has failed to realize that the battles of his youth have long since been won and that the world has gone on to new battlefields, new causes, new reforms and startling new ideals.

Americans everywhere are prone to think of the "virile Middle West" as the cradle of political progress and even of radicalism, but the fact is that we are no longer fighting over the causes that raised a Lincoln in Illinois, a La Follette in Wisconsin, a George W. Norris in Nebraska, or even the organized labor movement that came out of St. Louis.

The causes for which the Middle West supplied the leaders have been won. The red "radicalism" of the Republicans who organized at Ripon, Wisconsin, in the 1850's has become respectable conservatism. Even the radical federal power project of Nebraska's Norris is accepted by modern reactionaries. All or most of the political marches led by the more recent "Sons of the Wild Jackass" have arrived at their destination. The grandsons have taken over. They are satisfied with what has been accomplished and while they still regard themselves as the repository of all that is good and holy, the Middle West has halted.

The grandsons still fight the battles of the past, not realizing that they now are history, and that the nation for which the former Middle Western progress was largely responsible has been carried on by the current of world events to new and fiercer struggles. So far as the fighting part of this war is concerned, they are in it up to the chin; but they wish—oh how they wish!—that this could be a simple clash of nations with a tangible prize at stake. It's the intangibility of world revolution that overwhelms the mind of the Midwest and causes its leaders to balk and plunge in harness.

But accuse them of isolationism and they reply with heated, rather Rotarian-like pride, "We do our part," as though it were all a section of some forgotten NRA. And it's true, too. They do their part, so far as the physical aspect of the war is concerned. They send their sons and they buy bonds by the bale. Nobody could find fault with their support of the fighting war.

But the deeper meanings of the war are remote. When I mentioned this to one of my friends, an important executive of a big Middle Western company, he replied by pulling a picture of his son from his pocket. "That's my boy," he said. "He's just completed twenty-five bombing trips over Germany. That puts me in the war very emotionally and it's a pretty forceful reminder that we are at war."

Almost everybody can feel about the war that way. But to a remarkably great number of people in the Middle West the burning issues for which the war is being fought are strange and "foreign." While deeply in the fighting war, a Middle Western peace—which could be forced upon us by isolationists in the Senate—would be a spread eagle of such menace that nothing in the world could prevent some future assault on Fortress America.

A significant illustration of the growing nationalism in this section is an almost psychopathic "hate-Willkie" movement. This spreads from some of the most articulate Middle Western spokesmen who draw much spiritual comfort from The Chicago Tribune, which blankets about ten states. During two recent visits to a number of Midwest cities, where I discussed the matter with numerous groups and spoke before several large audiences, it seemed to me that the "hate-Willkie" movement is being substituted to some extent for the "hate-Roosevelt" movement.

The "hate Willkieites" become more and more heated in proportion to Willkie's growth as a spokesman for internationalism. This phenomenon alone is convincing evidence that the Middle West is just as isolationist today as before Pearl Harbor. Many of them do talk a superficial internationalism, but when internationalism becomes a matter of practical application, they show all the signs of deep and fundamental isolationism.

Sensitive to this condition, the organization Republicans are against Willkie. Willkie's following is among the non-organization, liberal party members, mostly of the William Allen White variety. They are the Republicans who have inherited the traits, as well as the accomplishments, of those members who once startled the "effete East" with their radical notions. Willkie also has a following among independents and the intellectuals. But the party organization is out to "stop Willkie."

Governor Dewey's stock is going up rapidly and Governor Bricker's is declining in about equal proportion, but the most-talked-of candidacy is that of General MacArthur. He gets the big applause in the movie theatres and his following comes close to being a cult. "What we want," say the nationalistic Middle Westerners, "is a man in the White House who can be a real Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and get the war won fast."

As an individual, FDR continues to have the mass support of the Middle West, but the isolationist-nationalist sentiment of the region probably assures an opposition Congress to deal with Roosevelt as Wilson was dealt with. This is the menace that lies in the politically powerful Middle West. I was surprised to find that even some of my Republican friends plan to

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vote for Roosevelt if the war continues or his services are seen to be essential for a durable peace (for which some selling talk will be necessary), but while a fourth term for Roosevelt seems certain, it seems quite probable that, once elected, he will have little or no congressional support from the Middle West.

There has been a rather general approval of the revolt of Congress. There is a widespread feeling that perhaps the revolt went too far, but on the whole it has been regarded as a "good idea" and "long overdue."

Most of the meetings in the section are conducted by those who were vocally isolationist before Pearl Harbor and remain isolationist (with the super-nationalist coloration of war) to this day. They include the "mothers" groups, the organizational nucleus of an America First Party and remnants of the old subversive groups. All hold forth against any sort of effective world coöperation.

On the other side there are, of course, important committees, such as the League of Women Voters, Citizens for Victory, League of Nations Committees, United Nations Committees. They are supporting the Ball-Hatch-Burton-Hill resolution. But as yet they are not effective. They find it difficult to shake the Middle Western complacency with regard to the attitude of their Senators on foreign affairs. The average citizen knows little about how his Senator has voted on foreign policies and still less about the effects of such voting.

It is the rising tide of supernationalism, however, which is the most dominant feature of the times. As an escape from international responsibility, American nationalism, as it appears in the Middle West, takes on the coloration of fascism. And as a means of rationalizing the profound isolationism of great numbers, nationalistic appeals are attracting large crowds to hear addresses by the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, the Rev. Harvey Springer, Reps. Clare Hoffman and Shafer, Sens. Nye and Wheeler, Carl H. Mote and others.

The meetings follow a definite propaganda line. The people become intensely aroused and, to their own way of thinking, highly patriotic. They boo Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, but they give their best booing to Willkie. They nod their heads knowingly and gratefully over statements that can easily be interpreted as anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-Chinese, anti-Semitic and anti-internationalistic.

Constantly feeding their emotions is The Chicago Tribune. Speakers rant at these nationalistic meetings: "You'll read some nasty remarks about all of us here in tomorrow's papers, but you won't read anything like that in The Chicago Tribune, which is real American, thank God."

"Real American, thank God" is almost the slogan of the new nationalism which rationalizes a sort of star-spangled hatred of the issues which forced America to war with fascism. This was the pervading sentiment at a recent meeting in Chicago which was arranged by William J. Grace, a former organizer for a Citizens' Committee to Keep America Out of War. The principal speaker, who made the hall rock with cheers, was Rep. Stephen A. Day, who had done writing before the war for Flanders Hall, a publishing firm supported by Hitler's ace propagandist in the United States, George Sylvester Viereck. These people, however, were not anti-American. They considered themselves the elite of Americanism, just as the Nazis regard themselves as the elite of Germanism.

Unquestionably, the following of the nationalistic (former isolationist) leaders is the lunatic fringe; but they provide a positive, dynamic support for the isolationist elements, who, in thoughtful moments, explain it this way:

"We'll do everything possible to win the war for America, but our family has lived here for a good many generations and they came originally to escape from Old World ills, the chronic wars, the persecutions and all the rest that goes along with the evils of Europe. Why should we now get ourselves back into the midst of it?"

To these people the issues of the war are remote. Hence there is a definite resentment over sacrifices which are entailed in Lend-Lease and the companion measures of total war. There is resentment of rationing and the "bureaucrats" who administer the system.

The Middle West, though it's in the fighting war up to the hilt, sees the physical aspects of war somewhat differently from the dimmed-out East and West Coasts. In the Middle West, the lights have not gone out and the streets are jammed as ever—in some places even more so—with automobiles. The coming leveling off of fuel sacrifice between the East and Middle West will probably arouse still more resentment, because everybody has the money to go places and wants to go.

There are signs of prosperity everywhere. The people have much too much money to spend in relation to the number of things the "bureaucrats" will let them buy. Not enough is taken away in withholding taxes. There is constant talk—and much irritation—over food and ration points.

Political experts believe that Roosevelt will probably be reëlected. However, unless the progressives show far more activity than they have heretofore done, and unless they appear in unparalleled numbers, it is a safe prophecy that the next Congress will be much worse than the present one. At least, all signs now point in that direction. Many thoughtful people believe that, in some ways, it might be better that Roosevelt himself should be defeated, thus forcing the conservatives to take full responsibility for the completion of the war and the dealing with the peace.

Also, it might be better if they should accept full responsibility for the disastrous consequences.

Kansas City L. M. BIRKHEAD

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Bureaucrats v. Business Men

YOU WILL RECALL that one of the funniest things that the Roosevelt administration ever did was to reach the insane conclusion that if there were brains available and for hire they could not be used to better advantage than in the service of their country. That elicited shrieks of derisive laughter. The country was not prepared for any such silly proposal. The first synonym of "brains" is "college professor," but who in the world would ever think of asking a college professor to formulate a sane opinion about the more serious affairs of government? It is notorious that college professors usually sit in their bathtubs with their hats on, or go to bed without taking off their shoes. Certainly, we shouldn't trust them to run the public's business.

And so Washington was once full of New Dealers, although never as many as some people pretended to believe. The joke about the New Dealer was that he didn't believe in kicking the underdog any harder than was necessary. He thought that children should be fed, at least enough to get by on, and covered with clothing, and sheltered. He believed in the dollar—a characteristic that I have noticed in Republicans and Jeffersonian Democrats and Liberty Leaguers as well—but he also believed that there was something else to life. He didn't want to snatch the good things of life away from anyone, but he didn't see any harm in putting teeth in the good old Fourth of July doctrine of "equality of opportunity" so that the fellow who was willing to work for what he wanted might have a chance. After all, it is the human hand that guides the machine and the pick that creates the wealth, and the more hands that are usefully employed, the more the goods that are produced and the better for our national economy.

Believe it or not, a lot of the people didn't like such sentimental stuff, and so the New Dealer was laughed at until the term "New Dealer" became one of opprobrium. But the expression still has its uses. Some of the columnists, and not a few of the commentators, won't let him lie in the grave where he had been indecently interred in unholy ground. Why, if you believe your eyes and ears these days the whole trouble with what we have come to term, I don't know why, "the war *effort*," as though we were merely *trying* to do something and not doing very well at it, has been the New Dealer.

One could easily believe, if he would, that the New Dealers have been overrunning Washington in ever increasing numbers since Pearl Harbor. Why, bless the sturdy reactionary heart of Mark Sullivan, I am one of the few New Dealers left in the Washington administration.

It isn't the New Dealers who have been running this war. I challenge anyone to name names and fix responsibilities. If I know anything about Washington it is that the business men, who have been drafted, have been running the war—men like Knudsen, Nelson, Stettinius and many others whom I might mention. These are the men to whom the President has given vast powers. And while you are pondering this fact, consider also that many of the most influential and busiest executives in this administration were never New Dealers. Nor are they now.

A new terminology has been developing during these latter days. Something more horrendous than "brain truster" and "New Dealer" must be conceived. Started by political opponents of any party, and nailed to the masthead of critical newspapers, "bureaucrat" became the sixteen-inch word with which to blow hell out of the administration. How eagerly the opposition within both parties seized upon this expression! And I must admit that a pretty good publicity job has been done with "bureaucrat." The attack was so seething that even members of the Democratic Party—they call themselves Jeffersonian Democrats—joined in the verbal foray.

Now I have avowed that I have been and am a New Dealer. If I could get away with it I would lay claim to having been a "brain truster." However, I do say, and against all comers, that I am, among other things, a bureaucrat. Just what is a bureaucrat? According to some authorities, it is that man in public office who at least insists upon knowing what you want before he says "yes." Others say he is a man who belongs to the opposite political party, or one occupying a position that is wanted by someone else, namely, an "out," who, when he is "in," will automatically become a bureaucrat.

While there are some drones and incompetents in the federal service who are protected by a civil-service system that is not too pliable or discriminating, there are literally thousands and thousands of competent men and women who are proud to be working for their country. I have had people in my employ paid considerably less than $10,000 a year who would be worth many times that amount to a private employer. I wonder how many business men would be willing to take some of our government jobs at the accepted rate of pay and suffer the annoyance, the unfair and unjustified attacks that are implicit in the epithet "bureaucrat," and the lack of privacy that are the price, as distinguished from the rewards, of public service.

I wonder if those who hurl the epithet "bureaucrat" at us think that the public business would be more expeditiously and more competently managed if we had

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the turnover in the federal public offices that we still have in some local and state offices on the theory of "to the victor belong the spoils." I do not believe that any man of vision or background would seriously advance such an argument as this. We have to have trained public servants. Without them delays would be even greater, and the transaction of public business by new and untrained people would cause such additional costs as to stir into emotion a dozen Senator Byrds.

I would like to lift a large flat stone and see what manner of life there is under it. There are a number of such stones that I could lift—General Electric, du-Pont de Nemours, U. S. Steel, Ford and Company, General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Aluminum Company of America—there are literally thousands of greater or lesser degree that could be listed. And they are all bureaucracies. They would rattle themselves to pieces if they weren't. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance, will pin a medal upon a breast and hand out a parchment on which the merits of a long-lived employee and the gratitude of his employer are duly engraved. The longer the service, the louder the acclaim. The faithful one will be retired on a pension, just as it is done in Washington.

Private industry wants as little turnover as possible. So does the federal administration. It is cumbersome and expensive. Private industry has a civil-service system of its own. If an employee does not show competence he is either let out, or he fails to advance. In this one respect only, the government may be a little more lenient than, say, General Motors. Personally, while I have always favored a civil-service system, I believe that it should be easier for the executive to dismiss employees, provided always that the new employees come from the certified list. I can't see that this would cause any damage to the principle of civil service, and no one is entitled to protection who loafs on his job or is incompetent, either as a public servant or as a private employee.

Why can a man who, on the surface at least, appears to be a normal, sensible, kindly, human being, become a berserk saturated with hatred, seething with rage and distilling bile, when he discusses a public character whom, rightly or wrongly, he chooses to blame for all of the ills and all of the frustrations to which human nature is heir? A voter of the United States can insult his President and, of course, even more readily, any subordinate official, for some fancied wrong or imagined slight, but that same person, if he happened to be stockholder of U. S. Steel, would assume as a matter of course that everything was going as it should go and easy-mindedly send in his proxy so that the competent, even if bureaucratic, management could perpetuate itself.

If you think that I am arguing, either openly or insidiously, for the theory of perfectability of our national administration, you are dead wrong. The federal machine is not only not perfect, it is imperfect, as it always has been. Some of its parts are flagrantly imperfect. But not only is the United States Government the greatest government in the world—the greatest, I mean, from the point of view of the actual business that it conducts—it is the greatest *business* in the world. It has now had to turn from its peacetime business to the new and exacting and hurried business of fighting the greatest war in history alongside of allies most of whom were as unprepared to cope with the Monster of Munich as we ourselves were. Naturally, the federal machinery clanked and halted and emitted strange noises.

When General Motors was told to quit manufacturing automobiles and turn to the fabrication of materials for war, it didn't do it in the twinkling of an eye and without any friction or disorder. Yet General Motors is a pygmy in size compared with the United States Government. Moreover, it did not have an unruly Congress or a clamorous press or a stirred-up public to deal with. It could make decisions and put them into effect. Notwithstanding, it took time and concentrated thinking and earnest endeavor and full coöperation with all of the help that the government could give to turn General Motors from a peace plant to a war plant. Fortunately for General Motors, it was not under the public eye. It was given the time that was necessary without derisive epithets being hurled in its direction. The New York-Chicago-Washington newspaper axis was not out to smear General Motors as it was the Roosevelt administration.

I submit that in fairness you must admit that the toughest job of conversion to war purposes was that of your federal government. And I would remind you that as an indication of its intention to convert as quickly and as noiselessly as possible, the President did not turn the job of conversion over to a New Dealer "bureaucrat" such as myself. He summoned to Washington some of the greatest names in industry and put the owners of them to work. I have sometimes ventured to think—all by myself of course—that this sudden and great influx of men, who, while highly competent in their own fields, were inexperienced and untrained in and unsympathetic with government procedures, was not so well advised as it appeared to be.

The clankings, the screechings of badly oiled machinery, the clashings of one war endeavor against another may have been at least in part due to the fact that new hands were undertaking work that they did not know too much about. Be this as it may, as I have already indicated, if the war program has broken down at any point, if it has failed to keep the pace that had been hoped for, it hasn't been chargeable to the "brain trusters," to the "New Dealers" or to the "bureaucrats." The thousands upon thousands of additional employees who have come to Washington since we un-

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dertook to make this country an arsenal for democracy are not employees taken from the established agencies of the government. The country ought to know that so well that it ought not to have to be told. They were employees, from top executives to typists, brought to Washington from private business and civil life.

I not only deprecate, I deplore, monkeyshines in Congress, and the miscalling of signals by public officials that disturb the peace of mind of the people and lead them to suspect that a revolutionary outburst may be in the making. Some nerves have become raw. Some things have been said and done that had better have remained unsaid and undone. Various news-disseminating services have been more interested in developing and spreading fanciful stories of personal grievances than in pouring oil on troubled waters, or even in permitting others to pour the oil on the troubled waters. As a frequent critic of the newspapers, I have been glad to note that some of the ones that descend sharply upon the domestic policies of the President are supporting him loyally and intelligently on the war front.

We are at war—a deadly war, a world-changing war—a war that will modify the course of history for all times to come, whatever may follow either by way of peace or of war. We are fighting to preserve physical America. That fight would not be worth the cost in lives and money if we were not also, and principally, fighting to preserve our free institutions, the right that has always been ours to live our own lives, in our own way, free from the dictation of anyone except ourselves. We believe that this fight is worth the making, but it is only worth the making in that degree that we shall desist from uncritical criticism, if we shall cease from assailing the government, without which we cannot hope to win the war, with words of defamation, with phrases of discredit, with jeers at those who are working day and night, wisely or stupidly, up to the very limit of their physical strength and their nervous energy. After all, the average in Washington is not below the general average throughout the nation. When all is said and done, even the last of the New Dealers have but one ambition—to win the war as quickly, as decisively and as cheaply as is possible to human beings.

HAROLD L. ICKES

Scandal in Newsprint

UNTIL LAST MONTH, when Time gave it a mild half-column, the vast majority of the public had no idea there was any scandal in newsprint. People in the field had known about it since the first of the year, and Editor and Publisher, the trade paper of the newspaper business, had been hammering at it almost weekly, but the matter had been kept from the public so expertly it might have been a Federal Trade Commission order against a big advertiser or a libel suit someone won against a newspaper.

Actually, the scandal is far worse than Time gave any inkling of, and bad enough so that the next time a publisher says "freedom of the press" he should expect to be struck down by lightning. In brief, the story is that the vast majority of newspapers have been chiseling on newsprint conservation; ignoring voluntary coöperation, flatly disobeying WPB orders, striking out at every other user of paper to obtain their own immunity, and in general behaving like the bad antisocial boys many of them are and running the situation into a very serious mess.

There are three villains in the piece: the newspapers themselves, which have taken advantage of their highly favored position in being the only big business which can also trick itself out in sheep's clothing and pretend to be public opinion; the big Canadian pulp-sellers, who have been just as short-sighted as the newspapers and probably even greedier; and a number of congressmen, the kind who would turn the multiplication table against Roosevelt if they knew it past three times three, and who had the added pleasure in this case of being able to respond to their master's voice with something more than alacrity.

The public story began last October 27, when Donald Nelson appointed a Newspaper Industry Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives—publishers, managing editors and general managers—of major papers all around the country. The papers representing New York City were The Times, The Herald Tribune, The News, Scripps-Howard and Hearst. On December 31, the War Production Board, at the suggestion of its Advisory Council, issued Printing and Publishing General Limitation Order L-240. In general, this order restricted newspapers to 100 percent of their newsprint use of 1941, which would have been a cut of about 10 percent of 1942 figures. Newspapers using less than twenty-five tons a quarter were exempt, but the next day the National Editorial Association sent out an appeal asking them as a voluntary measure to comply with the order just as though they were included in it.

On February 9, before there was any public evidence as to how the first paper cut was working out, the War Production Board announced a second newsprint curtailment, "not to exceed ten percent," to be effective April 1. On February 20, the WPB called off the proposed April 1 cut, announcing that R. L. Weldon, Pulp and Paper Administrator for the Dominion of Canada,

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had reached it the night before (like an old melodrama), with the information that there had been "an unlooked-for increase in logging in the Canadian woods," enough to warrant postponement of the cut. In its issue of February 27, Editor and Publisher issued a solemn warning that the shortage had not been solved, that the earlier estimates that pulp supplies would be off 20 percent for the year and more of them would be diverted to war production still seemed more reliable than Weldon's new vague estimate, and that the newspapers had better watch out. It was generally ignored.

On March 4, officials of the WPB returned from a conference with Canadian officials with the statement that the pulp situation looked good, and that barring unforeseen developments, publishers could expect a respite from newsprint cuts until July. A week later, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association announced that there seemed to be no shortage of pulpwood in Canada and that everything was lovely. Things then went along quietly until May 19, when the WPB announced that the rosy reports of adequate supplies "may come from sources which are not disinterested," and reported that Order L-240 had not been followed, that newsprint consumption had only gone down about five instead of ten percent and that further curtailment was urgent. A week or so after that, *almost five months after the original curtailment order*, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association began a campaign for a *voluntary* 10-percent curtailment, threatening that unless that were done the WPB would really crack down.

On June 16, a small dispatch from Montreal to Publishers' Weekly announced the amazing news that American newsprint consumption for the month of May was higher than that of April, despite all voluntary programs, and also higher than that of May, 1942, from which it was to have been cut at least 10 percent! A day later, the Newspaper Industry Advisory Committee to the WPB recommended a sliding scale of newsprint curtailments running up to five percent of 1941's consumption for the largest papers, and a reduction of the inventory limit in most of the country from seventy-five to fifty days. On June 24, the WPB put out a story that the advisory committee's recommendations would go into effect July 1, and on June 29 the WPB suddenly announced itself as arbiter of all wood pulp, revealed that future pulp prospects were terrible, and threatened further cuts in the fall.

The same day, Guy Hoult, the new Canadian Newsprint Administrator, this time no kidding, ordered Canadian newsprint manufacturers to cut every order from the United States for July delivery by 13 percent. With a beautiful sense of anti-climax, on July 6 the WPB announced a sliding scale of cuts running up to five percent of 1941 figures, substantially the recommendation of its advisory committee. After more than six months of struggle, the WPB had finally asked the magnificent cut of *five percent*, with no evidence that the new curtailment would be any better observed than was the first one.

That, in brief, is the chronological story to date. It requires certain background information to be intelligible. First, as far as newsprint consumption goes, about 85 percent of it is by the nation's 200-odd metropolitan daily and Sunday papers with a circulation of over 25,000; about 10 percent by the 900-odd dailies with circulations between 5,000 and 25,000; and the remaining 5 percent by the innumerable small dailies and weeklies which are exempt from the orders. The middle group, the small dailies, have been hit hardest by the order. Second, the liberal and progressive papers, being for the most part up-and-coming, have been hit harder than average by the orders, which have been uniformly based on 1941 figures. Thus PM and The New York Post, both of which had low circulations in 1941, have filed appeals, as has The Chicago Sun, which was not in existence in 1941.

The rest of the background that makes the story intelligible deals with the three villains. First, the Canadian newsprint producers. According to the WPB's original estimates, made in conjunction with the Canadian producers in December of 1942, 1943 pulp production would be 20 percent short of previous annual averages, and a good percentage of it would go toward making munitions. Men available for logging were down as low as 30 percent of normal personnel in some areas, and nowhere did they average better than 75 percent of normal. In addition, power was being diverted to war production, and a number of other inhibiting factors were at work. On March 9, *less than three weeks after he had told the WPB that Canadian logging had increased enough to warrant postponement of the prospective cut*, R. L. Weldon, the Canadian Newsprint Administrator, was forced to order a reduction of production to about 92 percent of 1942 figures for 1943. On May 28 he was replaced by Guy Hoult, who soon announced a new reduction in newsprint to 88 percent, and predicted that shipments might be down to 75 percent of 1942's by the end of the year. By July, the American Paper and Pulp Association was predicting a deficit of a million tons of wood pulp this year, with a further decline of 40 percent next year.

Meanwhile, as the actual shortage increased, the Canadian newsprint mills were coining money. Early in January, they asked for a 10-percent increase in price, to $55 a ton. (Bargaining against them, incidentally, is done for the American newspaper publishers by the OPA.) Agreement was finally reached on $54 a ton, a good-sized gain, on March 1. By June 10, Canadian producers were asking for a further increase up to $58 or $60 a ton. The OPA and the publishers both protested, but on July 21 all parties agreed on $58 a ton, with no indication that that will be the end of it.

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It is not hard, in times of this sharp increase in price, to guess: (1) who told American publishers there was plenty of pulp in Canada; (2) why they told them that; and (3) why Weldon, who made the statement and succeeded in getting a WPB cut postponed for more than three months, was replaced by Hoult. It is not a very pretty wartime picture.

The congressional picture is no prettier. Soon after the first of the year, when the first newsprint cut was announced, Republicans and a few reactionary Democrats began raising hell. Newsprint rationing, they screamed, was an elaborate campaign by New Deal fiends to muzzle opinion. Early in February, Rep. Paul Shafer of Michigan announced that he had good authority for the statement that a 50-percent cut was contemplated, to put small papers out of business, and that it was all "part of an insidious movement by long-haired theorists to destroy the press." Fifty Republican members of Congress got together to hold up all further paper cuts until after an investigation. On March 9, Rep. George A. Dondero of Michigan, a well known bitter-ender, introduced a resolution to investigate whether the federal government was curtailing its own use of paper.

On April 12, a nearly unanimous vote of the House authorized an investigation of newsprint curtailment, and Representative Shafer shot off his mouth again, accusing federal officials of a conspiracy to end the free press guaranteed by the Constitution, and announcing that newsprint curtailment and the suit against the AP were part of the same subversive plot. On May 10, the Boren Committee of the House met and attacked paper waste—not by the newspapers, which were defended as "essential," but by government agencies! On July 6, Rep. Melvin Maas of Minnesota charged the WPB with using conservation restrictions for purposes of censorship, and the next day Donald Nelson was forced to answer him and mention the fact that there was a diminishing supply of paper.

Congress here has been doing no more than following the leads of the newspaper publishers themselves, and it is hard to say just which group the WPB's spineless policy on newsprint curtailment has been most designed to appease, the congressional tories or the equally articulate newspapers. Certainly many newspapers have been fearless as well as shameless. In March, Editor and Publisher was still calling on newspapers to try to get some of the extra advertising that magazines had been forced to relinquish *because of the paper curtailment*. Newspaper advertising lineage in fifty-two principal cities was up 13 percent in May over May of last year, with a 10-percent rise for the first five months of 1943 over those of 1942, paper shortage or not. Classified advertising in particular, as a result of the war, has boomed. On June 19, a writer in Editor and Publisher had the gall to suggest that the newspapers expand and improve their promotion of the fact that their advertising and circulation were both up, almost six months after the WPB had called on them to curtail newsprint consumption! This article, and a number of promotional ads by newspapers, boasting of their increased advertising lineage, ran in the same issue of Editor and Publisher that reported the request of the Newspaper Industry Advisory Committee that the use of paper be cut another five percent.

A favorite tactic of many newspapers is to emphasize their vital function in the war effort as a way of fighting paper curtailment. Thus The Milwaukee Journal measured all the space it had devoted to war news and information since Pearl Harbor, and found that it used ninety-three pages a month on the subject, a mute reminder to the WPB that it ought to come through with enough pulp for those ninety-three pages. "Propaganda is a fourth arm of combat," a tearful newspaper official told a convention last month, asking for voluntary cuts in circulation and advertising, lest this vital war function be crippled.

The newspapers have also gone to bat on a campaign to raise pulpwood production, even if it means taking power and men from more important industries. In a moment of inspired madness, Donald Nelson came out with the suggestion that the four million farmers in the twenty-seven pulpwood producing states take three days off this year and cut pulpwood, which is vitally needed for war production. He neglected to suggest that newspapers take three days off, and in fact neglected to mention newspaper consumption at all. Taking a cue from Nelson, but this time mentioning that it was the newspapers' happy functioning that was at stake, the Pulpwood Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association called on the newspapers to increase pulp production by a monster advertising drive, using up a little more paper.

This is not to say that all newspapers have sinned equally. A number of them have made sincere and successful efforts to conserve paper, and many have complied with the WPB cuts and gone even farther. The Washington Star, long-time national leader in newspaper advertising lineage, recently took the lead in calling on its advertisers to reduce their space by five percent, and other papers have inaugurated equally courageous, unselfish and farsighted paper economies. Unfortunately, they are the exception rather than the rule, and they have done little to redeem the terrible record of the industry as a whole.

What are the actual facts and possibilities of paper conservation? There are some hints. The British papers are limited to 20 percent of their 1939 paper consumption: they print four to eight pages, and, according to the report John Cowles brought back from England, they are extremely prosperous. A recent issue of Tide

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says that one of Britain's chief newspaper owners is making so much money with eight pages that he never plans to return to the pre-war paper sizes.

In the "bedrock economy" study made by the Office of Civilian Supply, Director Joseph Weiner (who has since been run out of office) reported that we could stand a 60-percent shrinkage from 1939 newspaper operations, and there is little doubt (except among newspaper publishers) that we could. Professor Colston Warne, of Amherst and Consumers' Union, recently got up a petition signed by 200 educators suggesting that all advertising be restricted for the duration. It is unlikely that we shall get to any of these points, but the English experience and "bedrock economy" show a profitable possibility, and Professor Warne's is an excellent idea.

In all probability, the WPB will now crack down and the newspapers will actually curtail paper, not as a result of any campaigns or orders, but because of the incontrovertible fact that stocks of pulp are fast shrinking. The newspapers have behaved as unpatriotically and selfishly as possible, and they and their allies clouded the issue as thoroughly as they could, but the objective mechanics of the shortage will probably lick them. What we have had in this half-year has been another demonstration of the dangerous and irresponsible power possessed by the newspaper industry, and the sad and bitter fact that far too many men who control that power can't see the war past the ends of their noses, but are fully capable of seeing a dollar three miles away with the naked eye.

J. Z. LURIE and S. E. HYMAN

The New Red Network

THE ANNOUNCEMENT by the President on July 13 that he would treat the rider to the first deficiency appropriations bill as an unconstitutional invasion of executive and judicial power by Congress calls attention to an issue which has been too long neglected by most of the American press and public. Shortly before adjournment, the Senate accepted a Conference Committee report which decreed that Robert Morss Lovett, William E. Dodd Jr. and Goodwin B. Watson should be dropped from the federal payroll on November 15 unless appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate prior to that date. The House, which had repeatedly demanded the immediate liquidation of these three alleged "subversives," accepted the formula for delayed execution only after a prolonged deadlock, occasioned by repeated senatorial rejection of the original House rider and by the stanch defense of their subordinates on the part of Harold L. Ickes and James Lawrence Fly.

The House Appropriations Committee and the Kerr Subcommittee were forced a few weeks ago to print the transcript[1] of their star-chamber hearings in these three cases by vehement senatorial demands for the evidence upon which the men were held guilty. No other public document of recent vintage is so revealing of the temper of those who control the present House. No other document illustrates so well the fears and hatreds now festering in and out of Congress and the depths of confusion, mendacity and vindictiveness to which congressional leadership has sunk. This report will convince readers of what every witness before the Kerr Committee already knows: that Martin Dies has won his greatest victory to date.

The first ingredient in the witch-hunters' brew is a proposition which is the antithesis of the recent ruling of the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case: "Where two interpretations of an organization's program are possible, the one reprehensible and the other permissible, a court is not justified in imputing the reprehensible interpretation to a member of the organization in the absence of overt acts indicating that such was his interpretation. . . ." The Court thus held that a member of the Communist Party is not necessarily to be deemed "subversive" by virtue of such membership. The Kerr Committee takes no cognizance of this decision. In its effort to drive out of the public service three able liberals, it follows the reasoning of Martin Dies, J. B. Matthews and Elizabeth Dilling. That reasoning flows from a fantastic theory of spontaneous and incurable contagion. Thus: all Communists are subversive; any organization in which Communists or alleged Communists have ever participated in any way (even though remotely through related organizations) is therefore subversive; and all persons, whatever their reputations, talents, past motives or present views, who have ever belonged to such organizations or sponsored such purposes are also subversive and unfit to serve the government of the United States. Q.E.D.

Thus Goodwin Watson's subversiveness is demonstrated by showing that he once led travel groups for the Open Road, advised the American Student Union, was a director of Consumers' Union and condemned anti-Semitism in a pamphlet issued by the League of American Writers—all of which groups were "front organizations" for the CP because some Communists belonged to them. Dodd's crimes are that he permitted

[1] Hearings before the Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Seventy-eighth Congress, First Session, Acting under House Resolution No. 105, on the Fitness for Continuance in Federal Employment of Goodwin B. Watson and William E. Dodd Jr., Employees of the Federal Communications Commission, and Robert Morss Lovett, an Employee of the Department of the Interior. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 380 pages.

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his New York apartment to be used once for a press conference for Harry Bridges (very contagious), supported sundry organizations opposed to fascism (very suspicious), defended the Bill of Rights and once spoke at a meeting in the Washington Book Shop. (According to one of the appendices, "a confidential informant stated that after one trip to the Book Shop, she ascertained that the books were of a Socialist trend and the people were quite radical. . . . A lecture there [in May, 1941] stressed the invincibility of the Soviet Union and treated the President of the United States and his administration in a very critical manner.") Robert Lovett's felonies are most monstrous, for he supported scores of organizations, including some to defend civil liberties, to help the poor, to promote peace through collective security, to petition Tokyo in 1938 to release Japanese liberals jailed for opposition to the invasion of China, to arrange a meeting for the Soviet Ambassador, to aid China and to reëlect Representative Marcantonio.

It does no good to submit documentary proof to the Kerr Committee that many of these organizations, such as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, had the warm endorsement of the President, the State Department and sundry Supreme Court Justices, congressmen, clergymen, business men, etc. The Dies Committee says the ACPFB is a Communist Front and that is enough for the Kerr Committee.

The appendices, incidentally, contain thousands of names of outstanding Americans who have joined or sponsored such organizations. Here is a roll of honor, of which all the participants may well be proud. But by the Dilling-Dies-Kerr logic, all are open to exactly the same charges of subversiveness as Dies hurled at the famous forty. Among the names are James A. Farley, Harold L. Ickes, Robert F. Wagner, Culbert L. Olson, George N. Shuster, Ordway Tead, John Dewey, Ernest Hemingway, Mgr. John A. Ryan, Vilhjalmar Steffanson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. James Roosevelt, Thornton Wilder, Frank P. Graham, Charles A. Beard, Ralph Barton Perry, Dorothy Thompson, William Allen Nielson and rafts of Governors, Senators, Representatives, judges, ministers, writers, etc. If the purgers are successful in their present endeavor, all of these good people, should they try to serve the war effort in a public capacity, may reasonably expect to be indicted by the Dies Committee and tried by the Kerr Committee, acting as prosecutor, judge, jury, witness, jailer and executioner all in one.

The second proposition in the logic of the congressional Red-hunters is that anyone who has ever spoken or written a good word for Russia or the Spanish Republic is *ipso facto* suspect. Thus, in the course of the hearings as published, Frank B. Keefe of Oshkosh, champion brow-beater of the Kerr Committee, reproves Watson for not seeing "any real danger in the Stalinist type of so-called fascism" and for sympathizing with "the Loyalist government of Spain, which was in fact the Communist government of Spain, was it not?" To Lovett: "You had a great affection for the Soviet Union, did you not, and did not want to see it attacked?" Again: "I think you ought to call him [Ickes] up and tell him to accept your resignation before this stuff goes out to the United States." Thus, D. Lane Powers of New Jersey, questioning Dodd on his broadcasts with Genevieve Tabouis: "Did you visit the Russian Ambassador before any of these broadcasts?" "No, sir."

Gems from Anderson (not Hans Christian, but Clinton P.), to Dodd: "Did you ever buy any records at the Washington Book Shop?" "Yes." "What did you buy?" "I bought a Spanish folksong." "Largely concerned with Spanish democracy? What discount did you get?"

Finally, the Kerr Committee assumes that anyone who has ever criticized the profit system or urged a planned economy is probably subversive, even if he has since changed his mind and even if he has never urged social change by any but constitutional means. "Have you been interested in coöperatives?" "Have you advocated the abolition of the profit system?" "Did you believe in the abolition of the profit system in 1924?" "In 1920?" "Do you believe in a system of private enterprise?" "You believe in the capitalistic system?" "You believe in production for use?" "Do you believe in production for profit?" Etc. None of the "subversives" here interrogated advocates anything more alarming than the social control of the profit motive and the correction through legislation of the abuses of capitalism. But this is quite enough, along with keeping "bad company," to be damned. For details, see the National Resources Planning Board!

No informed reader of this believe-it-or-not volume will have any difficulty in assessing the caliber of the minds and the men involved. The fundamentals which are at stake shine through the fog of verbiage. At almost every point, the heroes are the accused, not the prosecutors. And at every point it is the defendants who are upholding American principles and the inquisitors who are subverting them.

All Americans have a duty to the three Americans here indicted—and to the witch-hunters who have forgotten what America means and what the Constitution means that they took an oath to uphold. That duty is to support the President to the full in his opposition to the purgers and to encourage him not to halt with half-measures. The issue is one for public opinion to settle now. The Supreme Court will, if need be, settle it later in the only way which the supreme law of the land allows. But meanwhile, if the public and the President leave the issue to litigation, much damage will be done to the morale of war-workers and the atmosphere of Washington will be further poisoned.

POTOMACUS

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Soldiers' Prose[1]

Soldier's Dream: Family Scene

THE BROW of the Special Services Officer need never be furrowed on account of the state of my morale, nor his efforts increased. Let him sponsor a dance or a baseball game, let him bring to the post a movie star or a vaudeville troupe, let him give away sweet cakes. These things are for the others. I have no need of them. All I ask is a quiet hour toward the end of today—a little time to dream a while of the folks back home.

In my mind's eye I can see them there now, seated in our tiny den in the evening. Father, having shed his shoes and adjusted his spectacles, is slouched in his easy chair, reading a magazine.

Mother is sitting in a rocker, across from father. She chews a wad of Pepsa-Mint gum—not because she likes it particularly, nor because she cares for gum at all; but she knows that mouth happiness is going to be an important factor in the post-war world and the shining hour that is to come. She knows too that the modern way to cultivate and maintain healthy gums (and what, pray, *is* mouth happiness if it is not healthy gums?) is to chew determinedly on this very Pepsa-Mint. Besides, chewing the gum relaxes her. It relaxes our boys at the front after a difficult day of slapping the Jap and harassing the Hun, according to the way mother understands the thing. Her wad is a little old—a week or so—but she makes no unpatriotic complaint about that. She is as fully aware as the next one that the Pepsa-Mint people are doing the very best they can, goodness knows, in the face of the demands made upon them by soldiers, sailors and marines—everywhere. The people at Pepsa-Mint have a job to do.

Father lights a cigarette. He loves his Lady Nicotine, and he inhales so deeply that I'm sure some of the smoke goes all the way down to his toes; and when the smoke comes out of his mouth, it comes out in thick clouds. Now he rolls the cigarette between his fingers. He studies the name stamped upon it—"Stammers," and as he does so, he smiles, and his eyes go dreamily out of focus. He's thinking about me, of course. He's thinking of how, when I open the package he has this day mailed to me, I shall throw back my head and shout, "Gee, fellows! Stammers!" Whereupon there will come flying from all quarters master sergeants, technical sergeants, staff sergeants, first sergeants, buck sergeants, corporals, privates first class, and privates, pell-mell. As father knows, after I have divided my Stammers with grateful comrades we'll all settle down to smoke and swap nostalgic yarns; and before our circle breaks up, I shall be acclaimed a jolly good fellow indeed.

Yes. That is a thing for father to dream about in his cloud of smoke. But I am not the only apple of his eye, and his smile is not for me alone. He thinks too of Charley, my brother in the Air Corps, who will receive his carton of Stammers one day soon. No doubt father feels that Charles needs them more than I do. And that is probably true. Father knows how it is with pilots. They fly through the dismalest fogs and are plagued by air pockets and updrafts and mountains that suddenly appear dead ahead, out of nowhere, not to mention bullets and flying shrapnel and birds in the air, all of which try them sorely. About the only thing that carries them through this vexatious pace, day in day out, is the thought—uppermost in their minds throughout their flights—that a Stammer is at the journey's end. A cool, long lasting Stammer.

No wonder father smiles. He imagines Charles making a perfect three-point landing after having flown upside down for five hours. He sees Joe, the mechanic, walk over and say, "Nice flying, sir. Have a cigarette? Stammers, of course." Charles says, "You bet I will, Joe! Been dying for a Stammers all day! They're first among pilots, you know." And Joe, "Yes, sir! My throat stays contented with them, thank God. They're fine for my Z-Zone!"

Louis, aged eight, comes downstairs in his pajamas to say goodnight.

"Did you take your Dash-Lax like a nice boy?" asks mother.

"Yes, ma'am," said Louis. "I take it like candy. And often. I love it."

"That's fine," says mother, beaming.

"Good boy," says father. "It's time for bed now. Good night, son."

"Good night, Louis," says mother.

"Good night," says Louis, and goes back upstairs.

"I'm glad he takes his Dash-Lax regularly," says mother.

There is heard from upstairs the sound of pattering feet. A rug slides across the floor. There's a crash, a bang. Pattering feet again. A door slams. Silence.

Father looks at mother uneasily.

"I don't suppose there's such a thing as keeping *too* regular?" says father.

"Oh, dear," says mother. "I hope not."

S. SGT. J. G. CLARK

[1] This is one of a series of articles and sketches submitted in our Soldiers' Prose competition. These are paid for at our regular rates and there is also a special prize for the best entry submitted during each calendar month. — THE EDITORS

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Washington Notes

When Demobilization Comes

IN VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE'S rousing Detroit speech last Sunday he cited as the second of three peacetime duties the "responsibility for mobilizing peacetime production for full employment."

I propose to show in this article that Congress is not making adequate advance plans for demobilization and full employment; that Congress has killed the only federal agency that was seriously trying to do the job; and that when demobilization day comes we are going to suffer another Pearl Harbor, a Pearl Harbor perfectly foreseeable—now—a Pearl Harbor of peace, not of war.

Here is the demobilization problem America faces.

It is fortunate that demobilization will probably be a two-stage affair, first European, second Pacific. If the European phase ends in 1944, 65,000,000 Americans will be by that time employed. They will be divided into three main groups: 10,000,000 in the armed services, 33,000,000 in war industries, 22,000,000 in civilian industries. The demobilization problem will be to get civilian jobs for those soldiers and war-workers—perhaps 43,000,000 in all.

Fortunately, demobilization won't come all at once. It will be the biggest thing of its kind in history, but it won't be so big as the above figure indicates. If the European phase of the war ends first, we can make these subtractions from the demobilization rush right at the start: 5,000,000 women and youngsters who will probably quit industry for good; 5,000,000 retained in the armed forces to beat Japan; 5,000,000 needed to raise and handle crops solely for export to war-famished nations.

Even with these subtractions, the total facing demobilization is 28,000,000. I do not pretend that these figures are exact. I offer them merely to give a sense of the immensity of the problem. When demobilization day comes, American unemployment may reach a peak. War-caused idleness may reach high tide. At the worst point of unemployment in the thirties 15,000,000 workers were unemployed. But there is the possibility that this will be doubled when war ends. To speak of rivalry between government and industry at such a crisis is criminal folly. Government cannot handle this problem alone. Neither can industry. It can only be handled with the closest coöperation and, above all, with advance planning.

That brings me to the second point. Congress is not doing advance planning. Congress has killed the only agency trying to do it. Congress has not substituted in its place any adequate advance planning.

The debate in which the Senate finally ordered the National Resources Planning Board to wind up its work and go liquidate itself was on May 27, and the discussion, which may later have historical interest, can be found in The Congressional Record of that date. The attack, led by Senators George, Byrd, Tydings, Vandenberg and others, turned on charges made by Harold G. Moulton, head of the Brookings Institution, and John T. Flynn that the NRPB had committed itself to an unqualified "deficit-financing" philosophy. As the debate shows, the Moulton-Flynn attack, which was taken up by the Senators, was really a distortion of the supposed views of Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard, exemplifying the theories of Keynes, which have been largely accepted in Britain. Beardsley Ruml, one of the NRPB's consultants, declared that Dr. Moulton's charge was "an uninformed misstatement of the board's recommendations," and it was likewise denied by the Massachusetts manufacturer, Henry S. Dennison, another NRPB industrial consultant, but to no avail. The Tydings-George group, which believes in post-war economy come hell or high water, won the field day, and the NRPB was told to dissolve, 44 to 31.

In place of the NRPB the Senate decided to save money and do its own planning, and it set up the George Committee. Thus post-war planning becomes a legislative instead of an executive function. To handle its research studies, the George Committee has now, in turn, named Harold Moulton's Brookings Institution. Using funds supplied by a private foundation, Dr. Moulton has just published his pamphlet, "The New Philosophy of Public Debt," attributing to Hansen and Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle Jr. views which Hansen (a former head of the American Economic Association) publicly describes as "pure nonsense." Thus the vendetta against the NRPB moves on into a broader phase.

This brings me to the third and concluding point.

It is generally agreed that the best way of cushioning the shock of demobilization is to have ready a "shelf" of public works for quick use when war ends. This will not save the day alone, but it will help. While the NRPB existed, there was some hope that this shelf would be adequately planned. Creation of the George Committee, coöperating with the conservative Moulton group, threatens two things: first, a delay, as the work of the NRPB is scrapped or else done over again; second, frustration, since the senatorial group seems primarily interested in post-war retirement of debt rather than the Wallace goal of "full production and full employment."

Newspaper reports have vaguely described a "shelf" of federal construction projects, assembled by the NRPB, of "$7,700,000,000." When analyzed, however, these projects turn out to be mainly titles. The NRPB was working on the group, but the NRPB is abolished. Of the so-called "$7,700,000,000" a breakdown shows $1,350,000,000 not yet surveyed, another $3,350,000,000 requiring congressional authorization before planning can be undertaken, another $1,500,000,000 not planned in such detail as to be ready for immediate construction. (Just to give you an idea of the magnitude of the problem: it is estimated that each billion dollars' worth of projects requires $40,000,000 worth of advance planning; that technical manpower requirements alone equal 10,000 man-*years*.) In short, as the situation now stands, if the war stopped tomorrow with the crisis of finding civilian jobs for 10,000,000 to 33,000,000 people, Frank W. Herring, former head of the NRPB's "shelf" work, stated that only about $600,000,000 could be put to work in the first 12 months of federal construction under present plans.

This is the same thing as saying that our economic borders are being left unfortified for an impending and inevitable demobilization attack. Peace will catch Congress as much by surprise as did war.

Washington T. R. B.

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John Anderson

IT IS NOT TO BE WONDERED AT that the death of John Anderson, dramatic critic of The New York Journal-American, has brought forth such a volume of editorials, notices and letters in the press. His many contacts and many interests, his sympathies, his field of subjects and his vigorous gifts led naturally to the response of a multitude of persons; and this, plus the fact of his death at so early an age, forty-six, is enough to account for so much attention. It is all deserved and far more than deserved.

To die at forty-six no doubt appealed to some of his friends and commentators as dying in his prime, with all the pitiful and effective irony of a man being taken at the height of his powers. As to all points, my judgment would be that, in this season just passed, for example, there is nobody to be found among producers, playwrights or actors with a quarter of his importance so far as the American theatre is concerned. No producer, no playwright, no actor of this interval has the contribution to make to the whole field of our theatre that John Anderson had; and any one of them who thinks to the contrary thinks from out a poor, distressing confusion of values. As to his being taken in his prime, I, who knew him well, would by no means say that John Anderson was taken in his prime. His quality and endowment were such that he might be said to have been on top of the wave as matters stand; but meanwhile in his very self he had still higher to go. Any close reader of his reviews could find sentences and implications—almost asides, as it were—that predicted more fully developed theory later on; there were observations and reactions to Broadway productions that passed far beyond the productions themselves and were the augury of brilliant and profound essays on the theatre, books presently to come. His reviews, his notes and his conversations guaranteed this. I used often to see these ideas, these hints, these happy notations, as if through the vista of some essay or theatre volume, in which the verve, the wisdom, the rightness of approach would have had even further development and rich resource. His death is thus not only a present loss; it is a major disaster to a theatre, a stage, a drama already unfortunate indeed.

The word stature seems an odd application to a man of John Anderson's simplicity of manner, gracious air and fine breeding; such a man gives off finally something more intangible than that; he has in his presence light, warmth and eagerness; he constantly moves beyond himself into something gracious, fruitful and shining. He presents the infinite delight of that happy nurture that Milton speaks of. We must, nevertheless, after all fall back on the term stature, and must say that in the case of this critic there is implied a range of knowledge not only of the theatre art but also of literature, music and the arts of painting and architecture that might surprise those who thought of him only as a critic of the theatre. With regard to the theatre he had a combative attitude, an approach that was ready to fight for it, if necessary; there was something in this that was forever young and at the same time solid and right in every respect. One might be at the same time amused, entertained and inspired by it. It was essentially the emphasis of the true lover and student of arts, of the critic who is straight, infectious, spacious and truly creative.

John Anderson himself understood this creative point completely. "To say," he wrote, "that a critic is creative is supposed to mark some distinction between him and other critics who are not creative, when the difference is, of course, much simpler and stricter than that. It is merely the difference between those who are critics and those who have the title by courtesy, or by accident of publication. . . . [The creative critic] brings to theatre practice not only the knowledge of practical matters which may be anybody's for the trouble, but the fastidious and stringent application, on the highest levels of theatre and dramatic art, of the values so greatly his own." Of the conception and the superb contribution here expressed, he was a fit example, generous, plentiful, highly literate, noble and luminous.

There remains one more aspect of John Anderson that should be noted down, for without it no record of him would be at all rounded. He was not only the friend and adviser of so many of the prominent figures today in the theatre art, consulting, promoting, introducing and publicizing them. The small people too had access to him, people with no visible talent, but sometimes—as he well knew of the hit-or-miss of the arts—with a chance nevertheless. To them his gentle, lovely hand was always extended, as if life could be little else than giving and believing. These, of whom there are so many, even those who never saw him face to face, may well think of him as once the source of faith in themselves and now the marvel of the angels.

STARK YOUNG

Words and Images

THE ISSUES OF THE WAR have to be stated continually. They are dynamic in themselves, and they require dynamic treatment. As our allies grew in their understanding of this war, their early plans for the cutting down of education—as in England—were changed. Total war it is; those who can express its issues must be used. And as we inquire into its definitions constantly, testing the meanings against conquest in North Africa, for example, or thinking of the issues of India and Detroit, we must also test—among other techniques—the images of the war.

One of the clearest means of communication is one for which we have not yet invented a name. It is the single image, as used in a photograph or a painting—or the frame of film—to which words have been added to enlarge the context. The method is not the same as that by which most paintings are named. It is closer in its performance to what the dialogue does to a movie, to what the caption does to a good poster. The point is not in the *naming* of a picture, but in a reinforcement which is mutual, so that the words and the picture attack the same theme from slightly different approaches. Goya does it, when he calls a scene, through the side of whose frame pierce the rifles of the firing squad, "This is not to be looked at." The best of our films do this; and certain portfolios of photographs, and certain picture books, in which the sharp text adds life to the pictures as the pictures add life to the words themselves, and a new and expressive form is before us.

This form is the basic form of the war poster. And when we see the fierce and vivid and constructive image—a face of the war—before us, we have, too, a point of conflict,

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if we are not yet agreed on the issues of the war. Because what we have is not the raw and brutal impact of the atrocity photograph, nor the cliché of the story-telling picture. We have an emotional image, *reinforced* from another direction by words, so that both make their strong appeal to the critical mind and to the wish, already moved by the facts of war.

Hardly anything has yet been written about these methods. One of the few recent statements, in an article in Tiempo, points out the early errors in Mexico's treatment of Fascist leaders as comic and amusing gangsters who imposed laws by bloodshed. A basis for a graphics program includes these points, the article continues:

> We do not generally vibrate to a war-march, but we are moved by a child.
>
> Traditions that are stepped on make us desperate. . . . A violated home pushes us to revenge. . . . Contempt revolts us. . . .
>
> A poster must be graphically eloquent, even without its slogan. . . .
>
> A poster can be attractive through its technique, execution, printing or presentation; but if it is not moving, it does not meet its aim, and is a bad poster.
>
> Every spectator must feel that the message is directly intimate to him; thus, he will accept its human and vital meaning.
>
> Feeling, emotion, beauty and severeness all have their negatives, which are: sentimentality, tepidity and vagueness.
>
> All anti-Nazi propaganda must provoke an energetic impulse.

The challenge is here given in terms of one fairly simple kind of expression. But we cannot forget that it has already been made to us in all the other forms, which reach us daily in the news: the ruin of cities, the death of man, great losses which must be replaced continually with meanings.

As far as posters are concerned, the key word is *continually*. If we are to provide war posters for America—and the civilian industry which corresponds to this war job, the advertising industry, has already vigorously shown that it realizes the importance of war advertising and war posters—we must look at the images. We must see them not merely image by image and poster by poster. These are images which need to be built up over a period of time, as an image is built up in a poem, as the action is built up in a play, as a product is built up in a year's campaign. The problem is not the same as it is in advertising, much as the advertising people wish to think so. The problem of war posters is not a selling problem, although selling ideas may be to some people one detail of the war. As a matter of fact, the division between two groups now active at home is the division between people who believe the war is something to be sold and people who believe the war is something to be fought. And a very good emblem of this conflict, and the issues about which it has formed, is to be found in the war posters we now see around us.

With the many ways in which food could be treated—posters about farmers, about inflation, about the relation of city buyers and grocers to farmers—we have, this month, the poster already described in The New Republic, whose caption reads: "We'll Have Lots to Eat This Winter, Won't We, Mother?" The Southwest has already complained that its needs are not being met; the posters which have reached predominantly Spanish and Indian communities, showing views of Independence Hall and the Minute Man, do not quite make their point, certain sections feel. This month, when discrimination is only one of the enemies we face in the manpower situation, we have a poster whose rather soda-fountain-looking girl proclaims: "I've Found the Job Where I Fit Best." We have no posters on the United Nations, except panels of flags. We have had almost no government posters dealing with the enemy.

These lacks must be supplied. They go very deep. They exist because of confusion about the issues of the war, sometimes; but, more often, they exist because those people who have the editorial power of turning down clear and honest posters dealing with the basic issues of the war—our friends, our enemies and what we fight for—are not willing to make clear statements. Posters have been made on these subjects, and they are the property of the Office of War Information. They are ready to be used. We need posters that will continually set before us the clarity and belief which strengthen us, and the tradition and future we fight for. We need poster people who believe in the issues of the war, and in the American people. We receive only harm ("sentimentality, tepidity and vagueness") from people who feel that when they were in business they got "given" space for signs, since they had a good product which they could exchange for advertising space; and that, now they are in the United States Government, they are getting "begging" space.

These attitudes of fear cripple our images, weaken our handling of ideas and make us weaker in the war. We have here a very clear form. We can make bold images, forward-looking images. We can build up, over a period of months, campaigns of images that will explain our allies, not only as a set of flags, but in terms of their armies, their leaders, their people, and what they fight for. We can build up an explanation of domestic problems—first, in terms of what America is; then, as with the food problem, for example, by showing the farmers their great constructive power, by showing our consumers where "their" food is. We can tie in the problems of food, of coal, of warm underwear, with the war, every time. If we do that, we shall surpass ordinary advertising, and provide it with a program in which it can take its place as a detail of the war. We shall be relating these war issues to the war itself, and in doing that, we shall be surpassing ourselves. We need to surpass ourselves in order to bring the war through to a sound peace. We can only do this by facing our own time, and by using our weapons.

As urgent as these questions were before the disbanding of the Graphics Division of the OWI, they are more urgent now, when the funds for domestic posters have been cut off. We have stopped necessary machinery before, only to find that we must set it up again. Even the profoundest critics of these posters knew that a government poster program was necessary. The advertising business recognized that need; although its reliance on worn-out technique was making its own kind of Maginot Line—its own reliance on technique instead of imagination. Collier's says, in its July 24 editorial: ". . . The high American standard of living and, in truth, the mighty industrial machine of America, is today the hope of all free people as a direct result of advertising." Which is to say, "In the beginning was the Slogan." This is the empty-headed expression of

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what has so far been the leadership of the war-poster program. And now, in spite of what we have been able to do—public statements, letters to Senators, all the things which failed to keep the OWI Graphics Division going—we must have another poster set-up. The issues have been clearly shown, the symbols are simple and usable. And we need these expressions from our government; as a whole country, we need the images and words which will strengthen our lives, for war and for peace. MURIEL RUKEYSER

The Production Line

WHEN several newspaper critics in New York were hard put to find something good about the movie "For Whom the Bell Tolls" they dug up *production* and called it fine. Production to them means any technical element that remains after discussing the subject matter, acting, directing and editing, and it is something on which they feel their readers should concede Hollywood's excellence. The critics' belief that Hollywood has production all wrapped up and put away is based on the infinite money, pains and time Hollywood spends on a movie production, the infinite money, pains and time it spends telling the public how much it has spent, and the knowledge that Hollywood production techniques have changed little since the late twenties, and that therefore what has become a standard technique must be either a good one or a bad one. They would rather think it is a good one. They feel it is a minor item to be taken for granted the way you take a paint job on a new automobile. It is obvious from the rigidity of production that they and Hollywood's producers have one standard for production goodness: actual-looking sets furnished with actual-looking furniture, costumes that seem accurate as to time and place, photography which is not cracked or blurred and which centers properly on the players' faces, and sound which does credit to American mechanics. This, what they feel is excellence, is actually the lowest mean requirement of a movie, like the lumber you haul up to the building site. It is what can be accomplished in a movie without recourse to the mind or the sensibilities, and it has neither significance nor merit until the moment arrives at which it is integrated with the movie idea. Hollywood stops too often before this moment is reached and consequently too often its production is not excellent at all but inferior.

The main thing about Hollywood production is that Hollywood no longer uses photography to any advantage. Its photography is characterized by a tone of watery gray, by an abuse of artificial lighting and by the paltriness of its detail. This puts it in exactly the opposite state from that in which its founding fathers—Griffith, Sennett, von Stroheim, Chaplin—left it. It no longer has any particularity of person, place and thing. Particularity (the personality of a given image) is a matter of texture, detail and warm and cool tones. The gray monotone has distilled all the warm tones from the image, the all-over glossiness has negated textural differences, and the theatrical lighting which producers have substituted for natural lighting either blacks out too much of the detail or splatters too many highlights over it so that light is divorced from form and a pattern or embroidery of light is placed in front of the detail, removing its character. This photography is banal compared to the work of the early days. Today the main effect is one of pretense or shallow sophistication; the Chaplins and Sennetts were beholden to the power of the scene around them and believed with idolizing patience that the camera's creative function was to integrate that power with their picture's story.

Modern movies approach nature and human affairs with the same insecurity as the merchandiser who gives you two pairs of pants for the price of one. The producer must add ten more shadows to each forest glade, three more crags to each mountain, five more turns to each road, yards more chromium to each interior. Thus, a picture like "For Whom the Bell Tolls" approaches a scene loaded; there is not one iota of wanting to understand it and use it significantly, the feeling that comes first, before it can be sifted, selected and clarified for art. Instead, "For Whom the Bell Tolls" has the single purpose of making nature a wow, and you get such a fantastically cheap scene as the one in which Pilar and Jordan pose amid falling snow, a scene false and meaningless, utterly without reference to anything.

At the bottom of most production errors is an underestimation of the camera eye and its ability to make apparent the slightest value, texture or form, combined with a grandiose attitude toward make-up, sets and costuming. "For Whom the Bell Tolls" may serve as evidence of what this leads to. Here was pulled the characteristic trick of advertising character actors as character actors by covering their faces with so many age lines, chin whiskers and skin shadings that whatever relation the actors might have held to the movie idea is destroyed in the beginning. So much did the director relish the whites of eyes against a leathery face that Pablo and Pilar were like nothing so much as oncoming automobiles at night. How much of the personality of Bergman's Maria was diluted by leaving her clipped hair long enough to be beautiful by Hollywood standards is an interesting speculation. And the velvet quality of her skin and the whiteness of her teeth were so accented as to take your mind completely off the after-effect of mass rape on her, and off the action of the moment, be it love or talk called love, and to make you think instead of candy and Sunbonnet Sue. Equally, the dress of the guerrillas is accurate in detail, but the effect of each detail on the whole is disregarded and there is no arrival at the idea of "guerrilla," but only at a certain kind of costume.

The goal of production, in costume, sets, make-up, is the creation of a scene out of which the story and character drama will directly emerge. The coal-mining environment of "The Hard Way" poetically expressed the lives of the characters, and whatever they wore, whatever they moved in, was added up to a single movie idea. The environment of "The Stars Look Down" seemed the main determinant of its people's look and soul. One recalls Emlyn Williams sprawled on the low roof of a dwelling, where he, his clothes, the way he wore them, the dreary smallness of the dwelling, were a unit expressing the idea which each of them aimed at alone. It is a curious fact that Hollywood is very often done with environment after the first few moments of the picture; after you have spiraled up from the street, up the side of the skyscraper, into the big shot's office and on to the face of his secretary, you have left environment for good.

MANNY FARBER

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The Bandwagon

Il Duce, in a message "to our far-away brothers across the Mediterranean," declares that recent reverses have been "due to shameless prowess of Americans, who are revealing their primitive red-skin strain." – *From an editorial in The New York Herald Tribune.*

The regular movie theatres, which were barred to Negroes previously, are said to have been thrown open to them suddenly about four months ago. This was attributed to a desire on the part of the theatre owners to bring about more complete racial equality.

Some observers think the move might also have had a connection with suits filed under an Indiana law which allows anyone discriminated against in such places because of race, creed or color, to sue for $100. Several such suits have been filed in the last year. – *From The New York Times.*

On the Home Front

John Hall, the hair-dresser, has just opened a new shop at 26 East Fifty-sixth Street, that's all-pink, and pretty as the inside of a seashell. Not content with just giving you a good hair-do, Mr. Hall has some innovations in comfort that had Shop-hound just *sent*. For instance, while your hair is drying, you lie on a comfortable chaise-longue. A cooling lotion is sprayed over your legs and feet (for, by this time, you've not only slipped off your shoes and stockings, but also your dress—which is being brushed and pressed by an efficient maid). You are given a frosty drink. And just in case you don't want to waste your time, they'll give you some note-paper to help you catch up on your correspondence. – *Shop-hound, in Vogue.*

That All-Out Effort

Marine Sergeant Irwin S. Bradford of Laurel, Massachusetts, tells of a spectacular double omen for victory which greeted the first raising of the Stars and Stripes by a Marine Corps unit here. As colors sounded a cloud formation split the rays of the sunrise into a gigantic "V." Then, to the strains of the national anthem, a flock of geese in perfect "V" formation appeared in the east and, as if directed by unseen hands, changed the course to fly directly over the flagpole. – *UP dispatch from the South Pacific.*

Total-War Department

There is a rumor that the Pope has asked the Allies not to bomb the Rome area, as a block-buster dropped anywhere within ten miles of St. Peter's would wreck the dome because of miscalculations made by Michelangelo in its construction. – *From The Washington Post.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Pope and Hitler

SIR: Dr. Gaetano Salvemini challenges [The New Republic, May 31] my assertion that "the Pope has utterly repudiated Hitler and all his works."

I have too much respect for Dr. Salvemini as one of the great and heroic scholars of our time to relish controversy with him. But I must offer evidence to your readers that my statement was not without foundation. I quote a passage from the famous article in the March Fortune Magazine on "The Christian Churches in the War," the most authoritative summary of the situation now available:

> . . . Since then [1940] Pius XII has left no doubt that Hitler and all he stands for are detested by the Church of Rome. Upon the invasion of the Low Countries in the spring of 1940, the Pope sent telegrams to their rulers saluting their resistance as just. . . . In 1941 he not only ignored Hitler's offer of a Holy War against Russia, but indicated, at least to America's satisfaction, that Germany had succeeded Russia as the most dangerous enemy of Christendom.

New York City JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

On Recognizing Governments

SIR: I hope my French friends will read this letter to the end, or not at all. I am not indulging in irony or paradox: this is no time for quips and pranks. I believe that the arguments used by the President and the State Department in defense of our French policy are valid, or at any rate plausible. But if they be accepted, then it is our policy toward most of the governments in exile that is hopelessly wrong.

We do not want to be committed to shadowy groups, which may or may not have the support of their people. Conversely, no such group is empowered to commit the nation which it claims to represent. It is obvious that liberated France would never have honored Darlan's signature. Whether she will honor Giraud's is for her to decide. Our full respect for the independence of the French people compels us to consider all current transactions as for the emergency only, on a purely *de facto* or pragmatic basis. In this I agree with the State Department far better than it agrees with itself.

For what is sauce for the French goose is sauce for the flock of ganders that goes by the high-sounding name of the United Nations. England has a stable government, under the control of the people. For Russia, we may have to stretch a point; for China, two points. Still, in both cases, we may admit that the will of the people is unmistakable. But what is the standing of the others?

Forty-five million people, over four million square miles of territory, live under the liberated French flag and according to the laws of the French Republic. Most of the governments in exile, with the exception of Belgium and Holland, do not control a single inch of land. The King of Norway may have taken with him into exile the legitimate representation of the Norwegian people. But can this be said, with any degree of accuracy, of the governments of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece? What is, in those countries, the actual will of the people? How can we know, until they are able freely to shape their course, untrammeled by any action of ours? And have we proof positive that the regimes established by Franco and Ramirez are governments of the people, by the people and for the people?

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I submit therefore that we should treat the "governments" of all countries in which elections are not free scrupulously on the same basis as the French Committee of National Liberation. Call them "provisional trustees of national interests" if you will. But if we cannot withdraw the full recognition already accorded them, then let the same measure be meted out to the French. The Algiers committee has by far the best case of all. "Unequal treaties" will not stand.

To say that Giraud and de Gaulle are not the legitimate representatives of French interests, while President Raczkiewitcz is the legitimate representative of Polish interests, is an absurdity which might lead Europe to impugn our motives. There might be a suspicion that some of our officials are keeping up a feud with Fighting France, as a rearguard action of their erstwhile pro-Vichy policy. American democracy was, and remains unhesitatingly, against the appeasers and compromises. The President smiles Yea and Nay.

Stanford University, Calif. ALBERT GUÉRARD

Beggars on Horseback

SIR: Here is a shocking letter I received this week from the Republican National Committee, together with my reply:

Dear Mr. Cunningham:

Probably never in its history has representative government faced the crisis that is now ahead.

The forces of the New Deal are aligning to force a perpetuation of President Roosevelt in the White House. The predictions of 1940, that violation of the two-term tradition was but the beginning of a life-tenure, are taking shape.

If we are to turn back this ambitious grab for power, if we are to preserve the republic on the home front while our boys fight abroad, the Republican Party *must organize now*. We cannot wait until a few months before the election. The New Deal Party is not waiting.

Organization demands money. And that money should be obtained from the rank and file of Americans.

I am asking you to contribute $10 toward the 1943 expenses of the Republican National Committee. If you wish to subscribe, your check may be made payable to the Republican National Committee, and mailed to 1337 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Whatever contribution you make today will help preserve America tomorrow.

Sincerely yours,

Washington, D. C. HARRISON E. SPANGLER

P. S. This letter is not intentionally sent to any person in the employ of the United States Government. Subscriptions from such persons are not solicited and will not be accepted.

SIR: Apparently your lists are no more thoughtfully prepared than your letter is: I am not now and never have been a member of the Republican Party.

That an appeal for support of a major political party in the United States in 1943 should reflect nothing more substantial than this angry, partisan prejudice is, I think, tragic in the extreme. It forecasts an unhappy extension of the inept leadership which has handicapped the Republican Party for the past twelve years.

But if this letter actually exemplifies the thinking of party leaders today, then the failure which it predicts will be the nation's good fortune. Better Roosevelt and the New Deal again —and again and again forever, if need be—than another post-war reaction of the type we suffered in 1866 and 1920!

Very truly yours,

Glencoe, Ill. R. M. CUNNINGHAM JR.

P. S. This letter is not written by any person in the employ of the United States Government.

Catholics and Liberals

SIR: It is true that Catholic doctrine "insists upon the dignity of the individual soul," as Dr. McMahon stated in his letter to The New Republic of June 21, 1943. However, this is not the whole truth. The Catholic doctrine in its entirety teaches (1) the dignity of the individual soul, (2) that whoever does not conform to the teaching of the Catholic Church forfeits the dignity of his soul and (3) that the secular government ought to prohibit the spreading of doctrines condemned by the Catholic Church as endangering the dignity of the individual soul.

To be sure, there are Catholics who act as if the third point did not exist, and therefore they walk hand in hand with the liberals until some order descends on their heads from Rome, and they leave the liberals out in the cold. But nobody should tell us liberals that the Catholic Church teaches the dignity of the individual soul and conceal from us the fact that the Catholic Church has something else in its bag. It is this something else which would create a permanent rift between Catholics and liberals even if many, too many, Catholics did not indulge in reactionary activities.

Cambridge, Mass. GAETANO SALVEMINI

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The Detroit race riots, judging from our mail, have left our soldiers bewildered, and in many cases, embittered. Below are excerpts from three letters. A soldier from Camp Carson, Colorado, writes: "... The race riots . . . set the war and morale back six months. What must the wounded soldiers have thought who came back from the hell holes of Guadalcanal to see this spectacle of the Dark Ages? On Guadalcanal whites and Negroes fought side by side. . . . Give the soldiers some encouragement to show what they are fighting for, a free country and a place to live in for every race, regardless of color or creed."

A private first class of Lowry Field, Colorado, writes: "Thomas Sancton is to be commended for his article 'The Race Riots' in the July 5 issue of The New Republic. There could have been no worse time for the long festering poisons to erupt in so many parts of our country. The danger is not past, nor will it pass until many Americans revise their conception of democracy and grant it to all others. . . . The struggle for freedom—the struggle of the colored races—cannot be avoided, nor can it be ended with violence begun by whites. . . . Until we meet the racial question as we met the necessity of defeating Hitler we cannot expect to have in our own country the freedom our men are dying to have spread throughout the world. . . . "

A corporal stationed in "a defense area abroad" was shocked by news of a war at his back "in the one place I had expected to find the support of peace, harmony and a united national effort. . . . News from the States reads like reports from a battle front—fighting in the form of national bickering, civil riots and selfish economic efforts. It disturbs me. . . . The chaos within our country makes a soldier outside it wonder whether more chaos lies in the warring world at large or whether it lies in the very heart of the country he is fighting for. Indeed, it makes him wonder what he is fighting for."

We have been informed that the sixth session of the New Hampshire Writers' Conference will be held in Durham, at the University, August 2-13. A special feature of the conference will be a display of American periodicals "bearing witness to the variety and energy of American publishing."

Hugh Hardyman, of La Crescenta, California, suggests that all heavy industrial facilities now in the Nazis' hands be placed under control of a European board of directors as a post-war step toward the economic unification of Europe.

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Books in Review

Mr. Cholerton's Beard

AMERICAN and British correspondents in Russia since the war seem to have led a life as perfectly communalized as that of boys in boarding school. They had the same sort of rooms in the same hotels: the Grand in Kuibyshev and the Metropole in Moscow. They ate three times a day at the same table, until—though they were fond of one another—they grew desperately tired of looking at familiar faces. After breakfast they listened while their secretaries translated the same items from the same Russian newspapers; then they wrote practically the same stories and submitted them to the same censor. In the evenings they drank vodka from the same bottle while playing chess or poker; or else they went to the ballet, where their favorite production was "Swan Lake." Those who had seen it thirty-five times were awarded the imaginary order of the Golden Swan. Occasionally the monotony was broken by a visit to some quiet sector of the front, conducted almost in the spirit of a high-school picnic. Several of the correspondents were permitted to make individual tours of factories or collective farms, and in fact they often tried to break through the invisible wall that surrounds foreigners in Russia; but most of them ended with the same feeling of frustration. After a year they went home by way of Teheran and Cairo, sat down at their typewriters and hastily wrote the same book.

I have been reading that book all spring, under several different titles. Walter Graebner of Time and Life called it "Round Trip to Russia" and Henry C. Cassidy of the Associated Press called it "Moscow Dateline."[1] More recently, James E. Brown of International News Service called it "Russia Fights."[2] Larry Lesueur of Columbia Broadcasting System adapted his title from Jack Reed: it is "Twelve Months That Changed the World."[3] All these authors describe the same events: the cold winter in Kuibyshev, the return to Moscow, the German summer offensive, Winston Churchill's visit (and the curious rumors to which it gave rise), the epic fight among the correspondents over the question whether their secretaries should be permitted to eat at the same table, the coming of Wendell Willkie and the defense of Stalingrad. All of them end by expressing the hope that Russia and America will continue to be friends after the war, but chiefly they write about their own misadventures. Reading their texts one after the other, you get a curious impression. It is as if some mock-heroic poem had survived from ancient times, not in its original version, but in more or less imperfect manuscripts that differ because they were copied by careless scribes.

The carelessness was what impressed me when I came to compare these four volumes. You expect American correspondents to differ in matters of interpretation, but at least they get their facts straight—or so it is always said. They are trained to spell names correctly, to remember dates and statistics. But these four authors fail to agree on the simplest and most neutral facts, even when they had every chance for accurate observation. To mention a trivial example, there is the question of Cholerton's beard. A. T. Cholerton of The London Telegraph was dean of the correspondents; the others saw him every day and were deeply impressed by him. Graebner says that he wore "a long brown beard." Cassidy says that it was "a stubby black beard" and Brown calls it "a goatee." Lesueur avoids difficulties by simply calling Cholerton "full-bearded." I wonder what he looked like with his long, stubby, brown, black, full goatee; and I wonder how much he knew about Russia. Brown calls him "the best-informed" of all the Moscow correspondents. Cassidy says that during his sixteen years in Moscow, Cholerton had "accumulated a vast store of information and misinformation, all of which became hopelessly muddled."

Often two correspondents get involved in a quarrel over dates. For example, Lesueur says that he reached Kuibyshev on November 22, 1941. Cassidy says that he heard about Lesueur's arrival on Thanksgiving Day, November 20. Lesueur says that they left for Moscow by plane on December 14. Cassidy says that they left on December 13, and adds that there were thirteen passengers. In this case I would follow Cassidy, because Lesueur's narrative, which is published as a diary, shows some internal evidence of having been composed long after the events which it describes. Some time I should like to read a war diary which was actually written at the time and was not revised for publication.

But these are simple inconsistencies compared with those which occur in their separate accounts of a visit to a ruined village which seems to have been called Pogoreloye-Gorodische, though every correspondent has a different spelling. Here is the story, so far as I can put it together:

The correspondents were instructed by the Soviet Press Department to meet in front of the Metropole at 4:55 or 5 on the morning of August 30, 31 or September 1, depending on which account you follow. Promptly, or after a delay of half an hour, they piled into four (Brown), five (Graebner) or six (Lesueur) Soviet limousines and drove off to the front.

They stopped at a village which Graebner calls Lotoshino and Brown calls Istra, where they talked with a group of children. One of them, says Lesueur, had lost his arm when he exploded a German ammunition dump. Brown says that he had lost his fingers playing with an unexploded hand grenade in his own front yard.

As they drew closer to the front, the Russian chauffeurs of the four, five or six ZIS or Ziss limousines were instructed to drive at a distance of 1,600 yards (Lesueur) or 150 feet (Graebner) from one another. Brown, more cautious, says "far apart." Finally all the cars were parked in a forest near the lines, and the correspondents were con-

[1] Both these books were reviewed in the issue of June 14.

[2] Russia Fights, by James E. Brown. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 287 pages. $2.50.

[3] Twelve Months That Changed the World, by Larry Lesueur. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 345 pages. $3.

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ducted through the ruins of Pogoreloye, if that is how you spell it. A Soviet major (or regimental commander, according to Brown, though of course he might have been both) explained to them how the Russians had taken the village, where the Germans had been firmly entrenched, had a force almost equal to the Russians and had known for days that the attack was coming. Graebner, Brown and Lesueur were standing side by side while the major talked —in very good English, Brown says—and yet if we compare their accounts, we seem to be reading about three different battles. Graebner's story is the most businesslike:

A 3:30 A.M. on the morning of August 4, the Russians feinted with a scout battalion north and east of the town. This roused the whole of the 161st German infantry division, which was immediately strengthened by all available reserves. Its job done, the Russian scouting battalion retreated before dawn, leaving the field clear to the Red artillery, much of which was concentrated in the fields where we were then standing. At this point in the narrative, the major announced that it was time for lunch.

Brown quotes the major's words directly, as if he had taken them down in shorthand:

"We started a barrage at 10 o'clock at night, and, shortly after midnight, we made our first attack. The Germans thought it was the main attack, but we used only shock troops, keeping our regular infantry in reserve. We were beaten off, and, for about two hours, the front was quiet. Then, at three o'clock, we attacked in full strength, taking the enemy by surprise. They never recovered; we had every position before dawn."

This account of the engagement appeared so simple that one of the correspondents expressed amazement that the Russian strategy was successful, that the Germans were caught off guard.

"It was simple only as I explain it," said the commander.

In any case, it wasn't so simple that any two correspondents heard the same words. Here is Lesueur's account, also enclosed in quotation marks:

"We immediately launched fighting patrols against the enemy lines to scare them into bringing up their nearest reserves. Two hours later, when we were sure the Germans were waiting in the front lines, we let loose with one of the heaviest artillery barrages of the war, advancing nine miles over German dead in the first day alone."

A legal expert, after comparing these stories, might conclude that the Russians attacked and captured a town; he could be sure of almost nothing else. And the contradictions don't end with that single battle. Graebner says that the Russian authorities insisted on sending the correspondents back to Moscow that night, although many of them wanted to sleep in the cars till dawn. Brown says that the correspondents insisted on driving back to Moscow that night, but the authorities refused and made them sleep in their cars till dawn. Incidentally Graebner, Lesueur and Brown were all in the same car. "Where did you sleep on the night of August 30?" a prosecuting attorney might ask them. "It was the night of September 1," Lesueur would answer, "and anyway I didn't sleep very well."

Like most Americans, I am intensely curious about Russia. Like most Americans, I have to get all my information about it at second hand. I used to think that most books about the Russians were untrustworthy because the authors were trying to prove a political point and because, consciously or unconsciously, they were concealing part of the evidence. These four authors have no particular thesis; they are foreign correspondents whose business is to present all the essential facts; and yet they can't agree on such simple matters as the strategy of a single battle or the shape of A. T. Cholerton's beard. How can we trust them when they make generalities about the vast Soviet Union or the future of modern civilization?

I don't mean to say that their books, or their one book, is or are completely valueless. "Moscow Dateline" seems to contain fewer inaccuracies than the others and its author had the advantage of being on good terms with the Russian authorities. "Mother Russia," by Maurice Hindus, is full of important observations about the changes in Soviet life since 1936, but its author is a student and something of a Russian patriot instead of a foreign correspondent. Although Hindus was a member of the famous expedition to the front, and even had an adventure that is described by Graebner and Brown, he wrote nothing about it at the time. Instead he went back to Pogoreloye ten weeks later, talked to the inhabitants and wrote a scholarly essay on what happened during the German occupation.

James E. Brown's "Fighting Russia" adds very little to the story. Brown had an exciting trip with a convoy to Murmansk, but afterwards in Moscow he suffered from a serious illness, and he writes like a tired man; perhaps he was also a little hard of hearing. In any case he seems to have had no Russian friends and not much curiosity about how the Russians lived. Ambassador Davies, in a brief introduction, calls him a typical American correspondent.

Larry Lesueur, on the other hand, came to Moscow with an immense appetite for experience and a pretty large capacity for getting into scrapes. During a visit to the front, a Cossack orderly invited him to take a ride on the general's white horse. The horse fell into mudhole, and the orderly insisted on cleaning him completely before they rode back again. By that time a whole troop of cavalry was scouring the woods for Lesueur, thinking that he might have been picked off by snipers. Back in Moscow he gave a pint of blood to the Red Army and jumped from the parachute tower in the Park of Culture and Rest. He had a passion for meeting pretty Russian girls, and one of them finally consented to have supper in his room at the Metropole, although he says that it took a good deal of coaxing. Her name was Katya; she had disturbing black eyes and carried a red Komsomol card. It was Katya and her family who showed Lesueur a side of Russian life that he couldn't have learned from any number of conducted tours. Once he asked her what she thought Russia's post-war plans would be. "Why ask me?" she answered tartly. "There won't be any Russians or Germans alive after the war. What do England and America plan?" In general, "Twelve Months That Changed the World" seems pretty inaccurate about facts and figures, but not about people, and it is very easy to read. It is the only book about the Hotel Metropole boys that has any heart interest. When Lesueur said goodbye, just before his return to the States, Katya quoted a line from Pushkin: "If you find one better than me, you'll forget me; if you find one worse, you'll remember." Lesueur thought he would remember. MALCOLM COWLEY

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Mr. Hutchins' Dogma

Education for Freedom, by Robert Maynard Hutchins. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 108 pages. $1.50.

THIS IS A SHORT BOOK of five chapters. Among these, the second, third and fifth are rewritings of the Edward Douglas White lectures, given at Louisiana State University in April, 1941. Taken together, these three are an incisive restatement of the educational faith of their author. That faith, however, is given new color and relevance when placed in the setting of the Second World War. Incoherence and skepticism, Mr. Hutchins finds, are not limited to the curriculum of the college. They are the deadly diseases of a civilization which, twice within a quarter-century, has turned to violence rather than to reason for the determination of its way of life.

In manner of writing the book is gay and spirited. But in purpose it is grim and resolute. Mr. Hutchins is an under-dog. As a controversialist he is fighting against the dominant intellectual tendencies of his time. His problem is that of the conflict between order and chaos, between belief and skepticism. And the president of the University of Chicago, ironically enough, is on the side of order, of belief. As he plans for unity of teaching he indulges in none of the superficial pottering which would devise some "new course" as a remedy for the inherent incoherence of all mere collections of courses. He demands a fundamental reconstruction of the whole scheme of education. He insists that all teaching follow "the Greek tradition of candid and intrepid thinking about the fundamental issues involved in the life of the individual and of the community." He believes that teaching should be grounded in a metaphysical unity, so that it may have constancy of direction, integrity of purpose.

As the battle lines are now drawn, the writer of this review fights on the side of Mr. Hutchins. I, too, am persuaded that our civilization is blinded by the wealth which it has amassed in the fields of science and industry. Our most desperate contemporary need, therefore, is that of unity of understanding and of action. As between the One and the Many in our culture, the Many is now triumphant and irresponsible. The One is vague and ineffectual. And yet—perhaps because his book is brief and popular—Mr. Hutchins seems to me to oversimplify the issue. Our intellectual task, as we interpret our world, is not to choose between the One and the Many. It is to combine them in right relations. Multiplicity is understood only when it is unified. Unity is significant only as it gives order to a manifold. These are two mutually interdependent phases of any valid thinking processes. Each is worthless without the other.

The difficulty which I am suggesting can be seen if we assume—as I do—that the humorous account which Mr. Hutchins gives of his own education ("The Autobiography of an Uneducated Man") is to be taken seriously. In that story two kinds of teaching are contrasted. Mr. Hutchins tells us that he has had both of them. At the age of thirty-two, it appears, he turned from one of them to the other. He began to study the Great Books. Before that time he had had no genuine teaching. He was uneducated. But that statement simply cannot stand in the face of the facts of his own career. Before he was thirty-two Mr. Hutchins, on the recommendation of an unusually gifted group of teachers, had become Dean of the Yale Law School. He had selected or promoted such men as Charles E. Clark, Roscoe Steffen, Wesley Sturgis, William A. Douglas, Underhill Moore, Walton Hamilton, Walter Nelles, Roger Foster. He was asking basic and awkward questions both about the meaning of the law and the teaching of it. He was inviting into conference with himself and his colleagues Thurman Arnold, Jerome Frank, Chauncey Hand, Randolph Paul, Bruce Bromley and others. All these men, thinking together with him, were devising a revolutionary change in the interpretation and teaching of the law. It is true that their results still needed radical criticism. The Yale Law School was still teaching courses in the law rather than a unitary understanding of it. And yet the dean was becoming aware of that defect. Whether he knew it or not, he was already practising the liberal arts. He was thinking. By some teacher or teachers—before he began to read the Great Books—that lesson had been taught to him.

But beneath the difficulty of which I have spoken lies another which is, I think, its source. The writer of this book tells us that teaching plans must be grounded in a theory of the universe. But, so far as I can discover, he himself has no such theory. Certainly he does not appeal to it in the devising or advocating of his educational program. If, for example, we ask him why we should teach by means of the Great Books, his answer is not metaphysical but mainly historical. He relies, not on the nature of things, but on a sociological record of teaching experiences. And if that is true, the argument of the book is, from beginning to end, subject to serious strain. When I say this I am not criticizing the Great Books plan. On the contrary, in my opinion that plan gives the only fundamentally important suggestion of teaching theory now being considered by the American colleges. But I am troubled by the defense of it which Mr. Hutchins gives. If it be true that we cannot get on without a theory, it surely follows that, being without a theory, we cannot get on.

At this point, however, it is possible to defend Mr. Hutchins against a charge which is commonly leveled at him. It is often said by his opponents that he is dogmatic. On the contrary his thinking seems to me both tentative and tolerant. Why then is the charge made? Apparently it is because he appeals to metaphysics. Since he thinks that all human teaching should express a unitary meaning, a unitary purpose, he is called an absolutist. And an absolutist—so the attack runs—knows absolutely that he is right and that those who differ from him are wrong. But that demonstration is basically unsound. To say, "I could understand the world if I could think of it in terms of a single pattern," is not to say that my attempt at the weaving of such a pattern has been an unqualified success. And, here as elsewhere, it may well be that the vastness of one's undertaking is a good measure of one's humility in the face of it. I know that absolutists are in danger of dogmatism. But so, too, are relativists. And, as between the two, it is the relativist who is in greater danger. "My" limited and factual truth may seem capable of final and absolute determination. But the "Truth of God" would appear to require,

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of those who seek after it, humility and self-distrust rather than arrogance and self-assurance. That requirement, I must admit, is not always met. In the case of Mr. Hutchins, however, I think it is.

I have not in this review discussed the Chicago decision to give the A.B. degree at the end of the sophomore year. That decision, I think, rests upon many considerations which are not relevant to the problem of metaphysical unity. It is involved in a network of psychological, political and social relations too complex for hasty assessment. I can say, however, that in his advocacy of the action Mr. Hutchins is, as usual, thrusting upon the attention of his colleagues fundamental values which they habitually ignore. However, or whenever, he may have learned it, he has acquired the art of separating the essential from the accidental. It is his practice of that art which makes his contribution to American education a very significant one.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

Two Views of Beethoven

The Life and Works of Beethoven, by John N. Burk. New York: Random House. 473 pages. $2.75.
Beethoven: Life of a Conqueror, by Emil Ludwig. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 356 pages. $3.75.

EMIL LUDWIG has written a book to stress a Napoleonic trait in Beethoven. That this aspect of the composer's character should appeal to Ludwig is not surprising since it is in line with the approach that has made his previous books so widely read—namely, an incredibly faithful conformance with the philistine conception of a "Great Man." At the same time it is noticeable that Ludwig has a bit of this Napoleonic strain in himself. Thus, his present book, he informs us unabashedly, is another example of "the new art form of modern biography" which he initiated in his "Goethe." A normal procedure in chronicling an artist's life is, however, to rewrite the previous biography, and Ludwig's "new" genre does not depart from this unfortunate tradition. It offers familiar data reshuffled in such a way that they lose some of their logical continuity—even that which is ordinarily provided by an unimaginative, but preferable, chronological treatment such as the one presented by John Burk.

The vague outlines of chronology are in Ludwig's book, but within them anecdotes and incidents follow in an additive form of *non sequiturs*. Here and there, the author reminds himself that he is conducting a "psychological" study, and he makes a feeble attempt at correlation (*e. g.*, "a natural shyness was mainly what held him back from physical love. . . . Those are the convulsive pauses he inserts into his allegro movements"). Quite as suddenly we are also involved in the rather embarrassing "visions" the music "evokes." The Kreutzer Sonata is represented as a "love-hate duel between piano and violin," ending "without a reconciliation" and reaching a ridiculous climax when the suitor "pleads in arpeggios." It is remotely possible that there is the slightest justification in this "analysis," since some people are infused by this sort of thing with a desire to make the acquaintance of the works themselves, at which time the proper values may assert themselves above the absurdities Ludwig sees in them. But where the average listener's interest ought especially to be aroused, Ludwig characteristically gives us no help at all, as in his discussion of the last quartets, in which he takes the most hackneyed view that many of the movements are metaphysics more than they are music, "meant to be read rather than played."

Even with its Napoleonic theory, which obviously cashes in on the timely epithet contributed by modern telegraphy to the Fifth Symphony motif, Ludwig's book does not represent Beethoven as appreciably different from the man who emerges from Burk's more sober condensation of traditional material in a form more accessible for reference. The best pages of Burk's book are the two hundred which embody separate discussions of individual works. Any effort is to be welcomed which may serve to intensify the transaction between the lay listener and the esthetic object, instead of encouraging this listener in his impulse to fix upon irrelevant associations until he is unaware of the particular curve of the object before him. Thus, Burk's "analyses" rarely go beyond the limited plane of the descriptive program notes he provides, at other times, for the Boston Symphony, but the inclusion of themes and the characterizing sentences should certainly perform a service.

ARTHUR BERGER

Poetry for All Tastes

THERE ARE eighteen volumes of poetry on my desk, all published since the first of the year. If I were to take the line of least resistance I would put the titles of all these books into one huge footnote, and then write a little essay on modern poetry, full of generalizations and wisecracks. My collection is very mixed, and illustrates clearly the fact that now, in the early 1940's, there is no "movement" in modern poetry, as there was a decade ago: but there are a great number of people writing an inordinate deal of poetry, much of it bad, most of it dull, but some of it exciting and good.

When I say that most of it is dull, I mean technically dull: the versification is inadequate: it is monotonous, jerky, not properly modulated. After so many years of what looked like fruitful experimentation, it is disappointing to note that most of our "advanced" poets have sunk into a sort of free-verse jog trot which has neither the discipline of the classical poets nor the flexibility of the experimentalists. And so many poets seem to be scared of the long line and the well fashioned stanza: they jerk along with bright, original ideas and vivid imagery, but too often the texture of the verse is like straw, and the reader gets tired awfully quickly. That is the only generalization I am going to make, for it is the only one that applies to a majority of these volumes. In other respects the differences are far more striking than the similarities.

Take the religious poets, for example. Max Eastman in "Lot's Wife" (Harpers) gives us a new poetic version of the story of Lot, his wife and daughters, and the destruction of Sodom. In spite of his boast that before writing the poem he "studied the archeological records, read scientific history and . . . visited Palestine and the Near East" in order to get the right atmosphere, his poem is neither psychologically nor archeologically convincing. Lot battering out his wife's

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brains with his black-oak bludgeon is unconvincing melodrama, and shows a kind of schoolboy spite to make out the "good man" of the Bible to be a villain.

If Mr. Eastman is concerned with breaking stained glass, Robert Farren is equally concerned with restoring it. His "This Man Was Ireland" (Sheed and Ward) is a poetic account of the life of St. Columba and represents an attempt to find and use an Irish tradition that is at once religious and Gaelic. The two parts of his intention defeat each other. To make the epic suitably religious, he has embedded it in the pallid "saints' lives" atmosphere which effectively destroys the Gaelic and the epic spirit, and removes all life and strength out of what should have been a powerful sequence of poems.

Midway between Eastman and Farren comes Laurence Housman's "Palestine Plays" (Scribner), which tells Biblical stories in a manner that tries to keep both the facts and the ethical intention of the original version. But Mr. Housman doesn't know the ancient Hebrews as well as he knew Queen Victoria. He is best with Jacob and Laban, and worst with prophets like Micaiah: it is clear that he understands shepherds and business men better than those through whom God speaks.

Amos Wilder's "The Healing of the Waters" (Harpers) is the best of the religious poetry. He is one of the few modern poets who know how to handle the long, slow line, and as a result his poetry has a musical quality not common in contemporary verse. He is at his best when simply lyrical —confessional, contemplative or plangent—and when he avoids the theological speculation in which he occasionally gets bogged down. The final poem in the volume, "The City of Man," written in 1923, has real eloquence, and is a kind of a blend of the contemplative poetry of Wordsworth and Matthew Arnold.

David Cornell De Jong's "Across the Board" (Harpers) and Richard Eberhart's "Song and Idea" (Oxford) are more in the general run of contemporary poetry. De Jong can use imagery effectively when he bothers to hit his target cleanly: the trouble is that after a fine, clean passage the imagery begins to fuzz up, with loose and spreading adjectives. If he had not this tendency to use dum-dum bullets for adjectives he would write more consistently on the high level of "Easter Hymn" and "Land of Milk and Honey."

Eberhart has the imagination and verbal facility of a poet, but a certain flat note, a monotony in rhythms, emerges every now and again: there is insufficient variety and suppleness in the lines. In "Orchard," a wholly successful poem and one of the best in the book, he manages to mold the stanza to the thought and the imagery to the idea with great skill; which makes it all the more regrettable that he should produce so much dry, whirring stuff like "My Desire to Write Poetry without Money."

The same fault is exhibited in a greater degree by Harold Rosenberg in "Trance Above the Streets" (Gotham Bookmart Press). This is brittle and jerky verse, often technically deficient because of the author's inability to master the rise and fall of the stanza. There is an originality of perception here, and a concrete personal imagery that is sometimes highly effective, but too many of the poems read like exercises—"études" instead of "pieces." All the arts have suffered from this confusion in our generation.

A similar sense of brilliant manipulation which doesn't get anywhere affects the reader of George Smedley Smith's "Lines for the Canonization of Pedro Domecq" (Ward

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Ritchie Press). Fantasy and originality are there—a brilliantly colored Mediterranean or Latin American imagery tossed around as a juggler tosses colored balls, with great rapidity. But there is too much rapid motion flashing before the reader's eyes: nothing really emerges except a sense of almost hysterical brightness and movement.

The poetry of Charles Edward Eaton ("The Bright Plain," Chapel Hill) possesses a quiet, lyrical faculty, with a clean and simple diction. With equal clarity but much less quietness, William Everson ("The Masculine Dead," Decker; "War Elegies," Untide Press) produces poetry of a somber rhetorical quality, quite impressive in small doses. His poems have an unpretentious eloquence and show considerable structural skill. And he knows something about handling the stanza.

The six Philippine poets represented (all too briefly) in "Chorus for America" (Wagon and Star Publishers in collaboration with Harvey Parker and Craftsmen) might just as well be American as far as technique goes. José Garcia Villa is the most obviously Filipino in technique: his poetry shows a bright primitivism, starkly lyrical, with perhaps too much conscious searching after the naïve image. R. Zulueta da Costa's "Like the Molave," a strong rhetorical statement of "Filipinism," is good declamatory verse which is nevertheless not flamboyant. R. T. Feria writes in a somewhat similar style—an urgent, earnest poetry, where the poet's sincerity forces a kind of simple repetitiousness on the versification, so that the poems are rather too obviously expressive, like a man symbolizing manual labor by imitating a blacksmith. C. B. Rigor's "Memorial to America" is breezy and eloquent, with an almost Whitmanesque movement. The poems of Cecilio Baroga show a quiet handling of a symbolic personal imagery, but his verse technique is not always capable of coping with his imagination. Finally, Carlos Bulosan, who edits the volume, manages to unite direct and simple statement with genuine lyrical expression.

Very different from anything already discussed is Bonaro W. Overstreet's "American Reasons" (Macmillan), forceful, persuasive verse in the very best tradition of democratic American rhetoric. It is easy to sneer at the deficiencies or crudities of these poems, but the fact is that this is a species of verse of its own—Whitman produced it, in a much more exuberant form, and so did Sandburg, in a more deliberately folk idiom—a sort of popular *recitative* which is peculiarly American. The radio has helped in developing this native tradition.

Mrs. Overstreet's direct popular stuff stands up well beside Vincent Ferrini's "Injunction" (Sand Piper Publishers), representative of a much more sophisticated poetic tradition. Too many of Ferrini's poems, in spite of the skill and effectiveness of individual passages, consist of lines that ring out monotonously one after the other, frittering away suddenly to an end, with no inevitability—as though the poet just got tired and stopped.

We can finish up with a really traditional poet. John Masefield's accounts of Britain at war ("A Generation Risen," Macmillan) are simple things, wholly traditional in ideas and technique, yet they say what is to be said directly and effectively. This is a quiet, elderly book, but impressive in its way. In "Land Workers" (Macmillan) Masefield gives us a versified account of English land workers—a rather pallid thing, yet it has a certain dignity and a carefully restrained emotion which few of the younger poets seem able to achieve.

And then there is Vincent Starrett's "Autolycus in Limbo" (Dutton). I like the poems, but I am not sure that the reason has anything to do with literary criticism.

DAVID DAICHES

A Reader's List

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN: CONFEDERATE STATESMAN, by Robert Douthat Meade (Oxford, $3.75). Born in the West Indies, the second son of Spanish Jewish parents, Benjamin was successively a New Orleans business man and lawyer, United States Senator, Confederate Attorney General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State, and finally, in exile, a leader of the English bar. Professor Meade's biography is a prodigious piece of scholarship which exhausts its subject and sheds much incidental light on the Old South and the Civil War, both of which, however, are seen from a rather conventional Southern point of view.

PLANNING NO. 207: SPACE FOR LEISURE (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). The main section of this broadsheet discusses norms and needs of recreational facilities, primarily with a view to post-war construction. As usual, PEP's survey is concise and thorough, covering present and future provisions for open space, building and equipment for various types and sizes of communities. A brief chapter touches scientific methods of personnel selection now being developed by the army.

Contributors

L. M. BIRKHEAD is the founder and national director of Friends of Democracy, Inc.

HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior, is the author of two new books, "The Autobiography of a Curmudgeon" and "Fightin' Oil." His article in this issue is condensed from a recent speech before the Sales Executives' Club in New York City.

J. Z. LURIE works for the USO in New York City.

S. E. HYMAN is on the staff of The New Yorker.

J. G. CLARK is a staff sergeant in the Coast Artillery, now "somewhere in the Caribbean."

MURIEL RUKEYSER's latest book is "Willard Gibbs," published last year by Doubleday, Doran, who will also publish her new book of poems, "Beast in View."

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN is the author, among other books, of "Education Between Two Worlds." His paper, "Education as a Factor in Post-War Reconstruction," appeared in the January issue of Free World.

ARTHUR BERGER, composer and music critic, was formerly on the music staff of The Boston Transcript and has contributed to The New York Sun, The New York Herald Tribune and various musical journals. He is the author of the essay on Malipiero in "The Book of Modern Composers," published last fall by Knopf.

DAVID DAICHES is a young English critic, who until recently was teaching at the University of Chicago. At present he is with the British Information Service in New York City.

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Reaction in Congress: The Record

Special Section

Introduction

The President by himself is absolutely nothing. The President is what the American nation sustains, and if it does not sustain him, then his power is contemptible and insignificant. – Woodrow Wilson, at Washington, D. C., March 25, 1915.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN'S CONDUCT on the floor of Congress during the last six months was as much a part of this war as an officer's conduct on the battle front. It deserves to be viewed with just as much care and judged just as severely if our fighting performance is to be improved and our victory hastened.

It is hard to contemplate the present Congress without a shudder. Its behavior seems like morbid melodrama—but it is real. Here are rococo oratory, suspense, dragging delay followed by frantic activity, mysterious absences, violent outbreaks—all the machinery of passion and intrigue. But behind the fanfare, a large part of the New Deal has been killed. Farm Security, the Commodity Credit Corporation, the NYA and the National Resources Planning Board have been reduced to helplessness, if not quite destroyed. The Wagner Act has been seriously mutilated.

The slaughter has not been confined to New Deal agencies. Anti-inflation subsidies have been curtailed, and Prentiss Brown's sad, conciliatory OPA has been kicked in the teeth once more, for its pains. The OWI has been forbidden even to attempt an orderly public-information policy. And for all the programs knifed or frustrated, nothing has been substituted. The final spectacle of government employees going unpaid because Congress has refused to act on routine appropriation bills seems to summarize the legislative attitude: there should be practically no government at all; practically no administration—only speeches.

The pall of timidity that has descended on Washington as a result of congressional attacks may be even more serious than the attacks themselves. It is not easy to plan a war, still less the peace, with an eye over your shoulder and an ear to the ground. An unpredictable, explosive, erratic Congress poisons the atmosphere. With our future in such hands, administration takes on a nightmarish quality. No wonder officials toss in their beds.

But Congress is not the invention of a bad playwright. It is not paid by Hitler and does not take orders from Berlin—or even, primarily, from Wall Street. Congress was elected by the American people—the same people who elected the President three times. Unlike the British Parliament's, its mandate is fresh. Ordinary Americans are in no position to sneer at Congress. It is ours and in some sense represents us.

To be sure, many voters did not know last year what sort of men they were electing. Congressional elections in a non-presidential year seem boring. People leave the choice of candidates to the local machines; major issues of policy are kept in the background. In 1942 a vague, negative feeling of dissatisfaction with the administration was prevalent. The war was not progressing dramatically, rationing was irksome, prices were going up, labor policy was unclear, rumors of Washington muddling were plentiful. Voters who supported the President on most broad issues were willing to rebuke the administration, although not to overthrow it. Many moved and lost their votes. Many stayed away from the polls. This was particularly true of war workers. The unions failed to put forth their full efforts. The Democratic Party organization was badly split and, under E. J. Flynn's leadership, not overly enthusiastic in its support of some liberal candidates. But all these extenuating circumstances are themselves disturbing. Any election is important; a wartime election may be crucial. To let it go by default, out of boredom or petulance, is irresponsible. And irresponsibility is one of the outstanding attributes of the present Congress. In this respect it represents us all too well.

The country is confused, and of this, Congress is a symptom. People know that the war is not won, that victory will cost heavily and will require all our energies. But meanwhile there is a boom, there are jobs and money. It is hard for farmers, who are generally none too rich, not to feel that agricultural prices should be allowed to rise. When farm-bloc congressmen, for reasons of their own, sabotage the OPA, honest small farmers may well sincerely approve.

In the same way, it is hard for a stenographer earning $1,500 a year to feel that her income tax should be increased. She already has trouble making ends meet, and how will it help the war if she eats less and lives in a cheaper room? All of us have trouble seeing the relationship between our personal affairs and the war. And we can all appeal to good American slogans in justification—my income is my own, my private affairs are my own, a man is entitled to what he can

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earn, what he spends his money on is nobody's business, and if he doesn't take care of himself no one else will.

On international relations, too, our general principles and our specific attitudes are often in conflict. Public-opinion polls have recently shown large majorities in favor of our joining some form of world organization for maintaining peace. But—aren't we still the strongest, most virtuous people on earth? Aren't the Oriental nations somehow contemptible? Aren't the British senile, the French corrupt, the Russians scheming and boorish? And would we be willing to be bound by decisions that these inferior people had had a hand in making?

There is a deep, true democratic strain in the American tradition. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are not empty words. But there is another strain almost equally deep—the competitive individualism that glorifies those who have risen in the world, given no hostages, kept their own counsel and taken full advantage of whatever opportunity may have offered. These two threads have become badly tangled. Democracy has been confused with business enterprise, and both have been confused with our great natural wealth, so that it has at times seemed that the Mesabi iron range was vouchsafed as a reward for virtue and sometimes as a reward for stock jobbing. Under these conditions it is easy for the accumulators of wealth to cloak themselves in democratic phrases. (Witness the righteous clamor against limiting salaries to $25,000.)

The task of democratic leadership is to develop a workable pattern of action out of the conflicting desires of the people. The President did this magnificently in the New Deal days. He did it again on foreign affairs during 1940 and 1941. On domestic issues he has thus far failed us in his third term. This Congress has descended upon us as a result of apathy and confusion. The President alone can take the lead in substituting vigor and clarity. But to reform the Congress we must all dispel our apathy and our confusion, look squarely at the reality of our present condition and impress our new will upon our representatives before they return to the Capitol in September.

The Score on Congress

As the House of Representatives prepared to go into recess late in the afternoon of July 8, Speaker Sam Rayburn rose to deliver his farewell address. "There has never been a more faithful Congress than the one in which we now serve," he told his fellow members:

> We are going home because we have finished our work . . . we have done our job. . . . Even though people love to criticize the Congress of the United States, I say to you that neither the Seventy-seventh Congress, that was greatly criticized, nor the Seventy-eighth, that is being criticized by some unknowing people, deserves condemnation because we have done our job by giving every authorization and every dollar necessary to the successful prosecution of the great war in which we find ourselves.
>
> I am going home to defend what I have done. I am not afraid to do it. I think that 95 or 98 percent of the people of this country want to believe that things are going as right as possible . . . want their nerves settled.
>
> I wish each and every one of you a happy stay with your people, that you will find your people well and that you will find them contented; that you will be willing, where you find them not quite contented, to tell the truth, as I think you can, and say things that will make them feel better.

Speaker Rayburn was addressing the men and women who had believed so strongly in the substitution of wishful thinking for the truth as a program of public information to "settle the nerves" that they had voted to wipe out the domestic program of the Office of War Information. "We have done our job," the Speaker said to the men and women who had voted to abolish the NYA and with it the training of 1,000 young people for war jobs every day, had voted to abolish the National Resources Planning Board and with it most of our hopes for coming out of this war with the kind of peace plans necessary to prevent chaos.

"We have done our job by giving every authorization and every dollar necessary to the successful prosecution of the . . . war," the Speaker said to the members of the Congress which had slashed our possibilities for food production by its actions, appropriating ridiculously inadequate funds for the Farm Security Administration, forbidding the use of incentive payments to farmers to increase production, canceling the crop-insurance program—the Congress which had deliberately crippled the President's program for controlling the costs of living, by surrounding the OPA with hampering restrictions on personnel and methods and by appropriating barely enough funds to sustain the present OPA.

Sam Rayburn addressed a Congress which had talked a great deal about inflation but had not done anything about it—except to lift the $25,000 ceiling President Roosevelt had placed on salaries and to refuse even to consider a thoroughgoing tax program for fighting inflation. Sam Rayburn bade these men and women go home to their people and tell them "things that will make them feel better."

Perhaps your Senators and your Representative deserve the splendid tribute which Rayburn falsely addressed to the whole membership of the House. Judge for yourself. A little farther on you will see a chart of the votes of all the members of the Seventy-eighth

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Congress on what we consider to be a cross-section of the most significant roll calls taken since the session began in January.

For the most part, this voting chart explains itself. What it adds up to in general is perfectly clear to even the most casual examiner. Strict party lines are no more. This Congress has been a succession of defeats for the President administered in each case by the Republicans plus a certain number of Democratic collaborators whose hate for Roosevelt exceeded their hate for Hitler. This coalition has brought defeat to almost every phase of the President's Hold-the-Line program against the rising cost of living. That coalition, as the session broke up, remained dominant.

A close look at the results of the twenty House roll calls and the eighteen Senate roll calls recorded in the voting chart which starts on the next page shows several interesting things. One of them is that there is much more cohesion in the Republican than in the Democratic Party. In the last session, Republican congressional leaders could crack their whips and get action from their colleagues. Democratic leaders, on the other hand, cracked their whips time and again with nothing resembling a satisfactory result.

There were 222 Democrats, 209 Republicans and 4 independents elected to the Seventy-eighth Congress. Almost one hundred of the Democrats came from the Southern poll-tax states. The Republican minority has been able to defeat the President and his paper majority in both houses by a series of specially executed agreements with various sections of the Democratic Party on specific issues as they arose. The Southern Democrats have been found by the Republicans to make by far the best collaborators against the President. The Democrats are split wide open along sectional lines and on labor and civil-liberties measures. The Southern Democrats vote almost as a bloc against labor and against measures having to do with civil rights, like the Watson, Dodd, Lovett cases and the Dies Committee. Comparatively few Southern Democrats vote against their party leadership on farm measures; fewer of them last session joined with Republicans on farm measures than on any other group of issues. There is a certain percentage of Southern Democrats who, however, have voted against their own party on everything but farm issues, men like Milton West of Texas (Democrat), who has only one vote for the administration out of the twenty recorded in our chart, and Wesley Disney of Oklahoma, who voted with the administration twice out of twenty times.

The Democratic delegations from the metropolitan districts of New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have the best records all across the board. As a group, they stood more firmly against inflation, for price control and a democratic tax program, for subsidies and roll backs. They voted to protect labor's rights and our general civil liberties, including the repeal of the poll tax, and cast more right votes on farm measures than other city congressmen.

The Republican section of Congress last session showed little of the dissension and confusion which characterized the Democratic side. An analysis of the Republican voting records in the House shows that out of the 209 Republican members, approximately 51 vote more or less for labor. A scant handful of Republicans, like Baldwin of New York and Herter of Massachusetts, consistently vote right on civil-rights measures. Many Northern Republicans in the House voted against the poll tax in an effort to gain Negro votes, trusting the Senate to block the measure. In a few farm states like Iowa and Nebraska, an occasional Republican breaks through the Republican farm-bloc line to vote for the farmers on some issues; Cunningham, Gilchrist and Hoeven of Iowa and Stefan and Miller of Nebraska are such men. But there was scarcely a crack last session in the solid Republican front against the administration's Hold-the-Line program to stop inflation or in the Republican drive against government agencies like the National Resources Planning Board, the NYA and the OWI. The Republicans stood solidly behind their leaders in the House and the Senate as they worked to wreck the administration of our war program by refusing to grant adequate authority or appropriations for carrying it forward. Unthinking Democrats from all parts of the country, still sore over the agonies they suffered at the OPA's hands in the last elections, were goaded by the Republicans into joining them to put price control into a straitjacket. Southern Democrats, falling for the stories of OWI "race agitation," joined with Republicans to cripple that vital agency. The Republicans made a fine art of congressional seduction in the last session.

By way of consolation, there are at least two splits developing among the Republicans—on labor and foreign policy. The potential labor split shows up in our voting chart. The potential Republican split on foreign policy has not yet been revealed through any roll-call vote, but if your Senators and Representative have not already indicated their positions on the Ball-Burton-Hill-Hatch and Fulbright resolutions on post-war world organization, they will soon do so. These men should be considered possible future allies on other matters also, given the proper persuasion during their present stay at home.

The Democrats' paper majority has gone up in smoke in this last session as much a result of poor leadership as of Republican cleverness. If this last session is an example of what can be accomplished under the general supervision of Jimmy Byrnes as White House spokesman, Byrnes's political acumen has been overestimated or else he is not being supplied with the necessary messages and instructions to transmit to the Capitol.

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The Record of the House[1]

Plus (+) means a vote for the administration; minus (−) means a vote against the administration.

	1 The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	2 The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill	3 Overriding Veto, Smith-Connally Bill	4 Ramspeck Federal Pay Bill	5 Opposing $25,000 Limit on Salaries	6 Federal Income-Tax Bill	7 Opposing Incentive Payments to Farmers	8 More Money for Soil Conservation	9 No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	10 No Funds for Crop Insurance	11 No More Money for Rural Electrification	12 Liquidate Home Owners' Loan Corporation	13 No Funds for Price Roll Back	14 Reduced Funds for OPA Enforcement	15 Limiting Policy Makers on Price Regulations	16 Abolishing OWI Domestic Branch	17 Creating Smith Committee	18 Continuing Dies Committee	19 Dismissing Watson, Dodd and Lovett	20 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill
ALABAMA																				
(D) Boykin		P	−		−	−		+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	P	P	P	−
(D) Grant	−	A	−	+	+	P	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Steagall	−	A	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Hobbs	−	−	−	−	P	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	−	+	−
(D) Starnes	P	−	−	+	−	−	P	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Jarman	−	−	A	+		−	−	F	F	P	P	+	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(D) Manasco	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Sparkman		−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	F	P	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Newsome	−	−	−	+		−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
ARIZONA																				
(D) Harless	−	−	−	+		+	−	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	−	−		+
(D) Murdock	−	P	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	P	P		+
ARKANSAS																				
(D) Gathings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Mills	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Fulbright	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
(D) Cravens	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Hays	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	−
(D) Norrell	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Harris	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	P	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
CALIFORNIA																				
(D) Lea	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	−	+	−	+	+	−		+		−	−		
(R) Johnson, J. Leroy	+		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Rolph	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	P	F
(R) Welch	+	P	+	+	+	P	−	−	−	P	+	P	P	P	P	P		−	P	P
(R) Carter		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Tolan	−	F	P	+	−	P	−	P	P	P	P	+	F	F	F	F	−	−		+
(R) Anderson	A	−	−	+	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	A	A		A	−	−	P	+
(R) Gearhart	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Elliott		−	−	+	−	−				−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		P
(D) Outland	P	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Voorhis	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(R) Poulson	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	P	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Ford	+	+		+	+	+	+	F	F	F	P	+	F	P	F	F	+	+	+	+
(D) Costello	−	A	A	+	−	P	+	F	F	P	P	+	P	P	P	P	−	−	P	F
(D) Rogers	+	+	+	−	−		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) King	+	F	P	+	+	P		F	F	P		+	F	F	F	F	+	+	+	+
(R) Johnson, Ward	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
(R) Hinshaw	−	−	−	+	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		P
(D) Sheppard		+		+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−					P	−	−	−	P
(R) Phillips	−	−	A	P	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(D) Izac		+	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	F	F	F	−	+	P	F
COLORADO																				
(R) Hill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Chenoweth	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Rockwell	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
CONNECTICUT																				
(R) Monkiewicz	F	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Miller	+	+	+	P	−	F	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	+	−	+
(R) McWilliams	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		P	−	+
(R) Compton	−	P	P	+	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	P	−	−	+
(R) Luce	F	+	F	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	F	+
(R) Talbot	−	P	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
DELAWARE																				
(R) Willey	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
FLORIDA																				
(D) Green	+	+	+	+	−	−	+					P	P	P	P	P	P	−	−	−
(D) Peterson	+	P	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Price	−	−	−	+	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		−	−	−	−
(D) Sikes	+	P	−	+	−	P	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	A
(D) Cannon		P		+	−	P	P	P	P	P		F		P	P		P	−	−	A
(D) Hendricks	−	P	−	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+					−	−	−	−
GEORGIA																				
(D) Peterson	−	−	−	+	+	+	P	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Cox	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	−		−	−	−	−
(D) Pace	−	−	−	P	+	+	−	+	+	P	+	+	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(D) Camp	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Ramspeck	−	+	−	+	P	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Vinson	−	−	A	+	−	−	−	F	F	F	P	+	P	F	F	P	−	−	A	A
(D) Tarver	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Gibson		P	−	P		+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Whelchel	−	P	−	+		−	P	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Brown	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
IDAHO																				
(D) White	−	+	+		+	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	+		
(R) Dworshak	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
ILLINOIS																				
(D) Dawson		+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+		+
(D) Rowan	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Busbey	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Gorski	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Sabath		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+					+	+		P
(D) O'Brien	F	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Schuetz	+	+	+	+	A	−	−	−	+	−	−	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Gordon	F	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Dewey	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Church	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Day	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Reed	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Mason	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	A	A	A	A	P	−	−	−
(R) Allen	A	−	A	+	−	P	−	P	A	P	P	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Johnson, Anton	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Chiperfield	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Dirksen	−	+	−	P	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Arends	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Sumner	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Wheat	−	+	P	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	P	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Simpson	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Howell	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Johnson, Calvin	+	+	P	−	+	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Vursell	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−			−	+
(R) Heidinger	P		P	P	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Bishop	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
INDIANA																				
(D) Madden	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
(R) Halleck	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Grant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Gillie	−		−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	P	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(R) Harness	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Johnson	+	P	P	+	−	+	P	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Landis	+	−	A	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	+	P	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) La Follette	+	+	+	+	−	−	P	−	−	+	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	+	+	+
(R) Wilson	P	P	−	+	−	P	P	−	−	−	+	A	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) Springer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Ludlow	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	F	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+

[1] SYMBOLS. – Plus (+) means a vote for the administration. Minus (−) means a vote against the administration. P stands for pair. This is a device created to allow Senators and Representatives to be absent from the Senate Chamber or the House on public or private business without having to forfeit the effect of their vote. The pair binds both parties to the transaction to refrain from voting. Both of the parties to a pair may be absent, but one may be present and taking a leading part in the debate. As both parties to the pair are on opposite sides of the question and neither votes, the result is just the same as if both of them had been present and voting. *There are two kinds of pairs, one which relates only to a certain bill in which* both parties specify on which side of this subject they will vote, and one called a general pair, which presumes that both parties will vote on the opposite side of any question which comes up while the pair is in effect. The first kind of pair is represented here by the symbols F and A, signifying, as above, paired for or against the administration. The general pair is simply represented by P. Absence is indicated by a blank space. This means that the person is out of the Senate Chamber or the House and is not protected by a pair; therefore his vote is a complete loss to his party.

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Plus (+) means a vote for the administration; minus (−) means a vote against the administration.

	1 The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	2 The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill	3 Overriding Veto, Smith-Connally Bill	4 Ramspeck Federal Pay Bill	5 Opposing $25,000 Limit on Salaries	6 Federal Income-Tax Bill	7 Opposing Incentive Payments to Farmers	8 More Money for Soil Conservation	9 No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	10 No Funds for Crop Insurance	11 No More Money for Rural Electrification	12 Liquidate Home Owners' Loan Corporation	13 No Funds for Price Roll Back	14 Reduced Funds for OPA Enforcement	15 Limiting Policy Makers on Price Regulations	16 Abolishing OWI Domestic Branch	17 Creating Smith Committee	18 Continuing Dies Committee	19 Dismissing Watson, Dodd and Lovett	20 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill
IOWA																				
(R) Martin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
(R) Talle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Gwynne	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) LeCompte	−	P	−	−	−	P		−	+	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(R) Cunningham	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Gilchrist	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Jensen	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Hoeven	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
KANSAS																				
(R) Lambertson	−	−	−	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Winter	P	−	−	−	P	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Rees	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Hope	−	−	−	+	−	P	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Carlson	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	P	P	+	+	−	A	A	A	A	P	−	−	+
KENTUCKY																				
(D) Gregory	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Vincent	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+		+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) O'Neal	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Creal	−	−	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−
(D) Spence	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	P	+		+
(D) Chapman	−	A	−	+	−	A	+	+	+	−	+	−	F	F	F	F	−	−		−
(D) May	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(D) Bates	P	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
(R) Robsion	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	F	F	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
LOUISIANA																				
(D) Hebert	−	−	P	+	−	−		F	F	F	P	+	P	P	P	P	−	P	−	−
(D) Maloney	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	−	+	+	P	P	P	P	P	P	−	−	−
(D) Domengeaux	−	A	−	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	P	P	P		P	+	−
(D) Brooks		−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) McKenzie		−	A	+	+	−	+	+		+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Morrison	P	−	A	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−
(D) Larcade	+	F	F	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(D) Allen		−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
MAINE																				
(R) Hale	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	−
(R) Smith	P	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	P	+
(R) Fellows	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A
MARYLAND																				
(D) Ward	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Baldwin	−	−	−		−	−	P	−		−	−	−	+	+		+	−	−	−	−
(D) D'Alesandro	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	P	−	−	+
(R) Ellison	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(D) Sasscer	−	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(R) Beall	−	+	P	+	−	−	P	A	A	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
MASSACHUSETTS																				
(R) Treadway	−	P	A	+	−	A	−	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	−	P
(R) Clason	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
(D) Philbin	−	+	P	+	−	−		F		P		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Holmes	P	−	−	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Rogers	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Bates	A	+		−	−	−		A	A	A	P	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Lane	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(R) Goodwin	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	+
(R) Gifford	−	A	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(R) Herter	P	−	−	−	−	P		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	F	+
(D) Curley	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	F	F	F	F	−	−	−	+
(D) McCormack	−	+	+	+	P	−	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	P	−	−	+
(R) Wigglesworth	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
(R) Martin	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
MICHIGAN																				
(D) Sadowski	+	+	+	+	+	F	P	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Michener	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Shafer	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Hoffman	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(R) Jonkman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Blackney	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Wolcott	−	−	−	+	F	−	−	A	A	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(R) Crawford	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(R) Engel	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
(R) Woodruff	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	P	P
(R) Bradley	−	−	A	+	P	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(R) Bennett	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) O'Brien	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
(D) Rabaut	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Dingell	P	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+
(D) Lesinski	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
(R) Dondero	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
MINNESOTA																				
(R) Andresen	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) O'Hara	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Gale	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	+	+	+
(R) Maas	P	−	−	+	−	−	P	P	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	P	P
(R) Judd	A	−	−	−	−	−	A	A		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	P	+
(R) Knutson	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Andersen	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Pittenger	+	F	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(F-L) Hagen	−	+	+		+	P	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	P	+	−	+
MISSISSIPPI																				
(D) Rankin	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Whitten	−	−	−	−		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Whittington	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Abernethy	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Winstead	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Colmer	−	−	−	P	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) McGehee	−	A	−	P	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
MISSOURI																				
(R) Arnold	−	−	−	+	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	+
(R) Schwabe	−	A	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	+	A	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Cole	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	P	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Bell		P	−		−	P	−	P	P	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−		−
(D) Slaughter	−	−	−	P	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	P	+	+	+	+	P	−	−	−
(R) Short	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	F
(R) Elmer	−	+	P	−	+	−	A	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
(D) Cannon	P	−	−	P	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Zimmerman	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(R) Miller	+	+	P	−	−	−	A	−	A	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	P	−	A	+
(R) Ploeser	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(D) Cochran	+	P	P	P		P	−	P	P	P	P	P	P		P	P	P	P	P	P
(R) Bennett	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	+
MONTANA																				
(D) Mansfield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) O'Connor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA																				
(R) Curtis	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	−
(R) Buffett	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Stefan	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	F
(R) Miller	−	−	−	−	P	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P
NEVADA																				
(D) Sullivan	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE																				
(R) Merrow	−	−	−	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Stearns	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	+	P
NEW JERSEY																				
(R) Wolverton	+	+	F	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Wene	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
(R) Auchincloss	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	+
(R) Powers	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(R) Eaton	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	A	A	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	F
(R) McLean	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	A	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	P
(R) Thomas	−	−	A	P	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	P	−	A	+
(R) Canfield	−	+	+	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Towe	−	−	A	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Hartley	P	−	A	+	−	P	−	A	A	A	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Sundstrom	−	−	A	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Kean	−	P	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	P	+	+	+
(D) Norton	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	P	P	F	+
(D) Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		P	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
NEW MEXICO																				
(D) Anderson	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Fernandez	−	−	−	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	−		+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Plus (+) means a vote for the administration; minus (−) means a vote against the administration.

	1 The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	2 The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill	3 Overriding Veto, Smith-Connally Bill	4 Ramspeck Federal Pay Bill	5 Opposing $25,000 Limit on Salaries	6 Federal Income-Tax Bill	7 Opposing Incentive Payments to Farmers	8 More Money for Soil Conservation	9 No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	10 No Funds for Crop Insurance	11 No More Money for Rural Electrification	12 Liquidate Home Owners' Loan Corporation	13 No Funds for Price Roll Back	14 Reduced Funds for OPA Enforcement	15 Limiting Policy Makers on Price Regulations	16 Abolishing OWI Domestic Branch	17 Creating Smith Committee	18 Continuing Dies Committee	19 Dismissing Watson, Dodd and Lovett	20 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill
NEW YORK																				
(R) Hall, L. W.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(D) Barry	+	+	+	+	−	−	P	P	P	P	P	+	F	P	F	F	−	−	−	+
(D) Pfeifer	P	+	P	+	F	−	−	+	+	−	−	F	F	F	F	P	−	−	+	+
(D) Cullen	F	+	+	+	+	−	+	F	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	P	F	+
(D) Heffernan	+	+	P	+	+	−	P	+	F	+	P	+	F	F	F	F	P	P	+	+
(D) Somers	P	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	F	F	F	F	−	+	−	+
(D) Delaney	+	+	P	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) O'Toole	P	+	+	+	P	−		+	+	+	+	F	P	P	P	P	−	P	P	+
(D) Keogh	+	+	F	+	+	−	P	+	+	+	−	F	F	F	F	P	P	+	+	+
(D) Celler	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) O'Leary	+			+			P					+					−	+	+	F
(D) Dickstein	+	+	+	+	+	+		F	F	−	−	+						+	+	+
(D) Capozzoli	+	F	F	+	+	P		F	F	P	P	+	F	F	F	F	+	+	+	F
(D) Klein	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	F	F	F	F	+	+	+	+
(D) Burchill	+	+	P	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	F	F	F	F	+	+	+	+
(D) Fay	+	+	P	+	+	−	P	F	F	+	+	F	F	F	F	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Merritt	+	+	F	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	+	F	F	F	+	−	−	+	+
(R) Stanley	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Baldwin	+	+	F	+	−	A	P	A	A	A	P	−	P	P	P	P		+	+	+
(D) Kennedy	P	+	F	+	+	−	P	+	+	−	P	+	F	F	F	F	P	P	−	+
(D) Bloom	+	+	+	+	+	−	F	+	F	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(ALP) Marcantonio	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+
(D) Gavagan	+	+	P	+	+	−	P	F	F	P	P	F	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
(D) Lynch	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	F	F	P	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Buckley	+	+	P	+	F	+	P	P	F	P	P	F	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+
(D) Fitzpatrick	+	+	F	+	+	+	P	F	F	P	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Gamble	−	−	A	+	−	−	−	A	A	P	−	−	A	A	A	A	P	−	−	+
(R) Fish	−	−	−	P	A	−		P	P	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(R) LeFevre	−	P	−	+	−	−	−	P	P	−	−	P	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(D) Byrne	P	+	P	+	P	−	P	+	+	P	P	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+
(R) Taylor	−	−	A	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Kearney	−	−	P	+	−	−		P	P		P	−	P	P	P	P		P	−	+
(R) Kilburn	−	−	A	+	−	P	P	A	A	A	P	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	P
(R) Culkin	−		P	P	P	P	−	P	P	P	P	−	P	P	P	P		−	P	P
(R) Douglas	−	P	P	+	−	−	−	A	A	P	P	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	−
(R) Hall, E. A	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(R) Hancock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Cole	−	P	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) O'Brien	−	P	A	+	−	P	−	A	A	P	P	−	A	A	A	A	P	−	−	−
(R) Wadsworth	−	−	P	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−
(R) Andrews	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	A	A	P	P	P	−	−	−		P	P	−	+
(R) Mruk	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Butler	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(R) Reed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Taber	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
NORTH CAROLINA																				
(D) Bonner	−	−	−	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
(D) Kerr	−		−	+	−	A	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
(D) Barden	−	−	A	+	+	+			P	P		+					−	−	−	−
(D) Cooley	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	A	
(D) Folger	−	−	+	−	+	F	P	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
(D) Durham	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
(D) Clark	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	P	+	+	+	+	P	+	P	A
(D) Burgin	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	+		P
(D) Doughton	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Morrison	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	P
(D) Bulwinkle	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	P	−
(D) Weaver		−	−	+	+	−	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA																				
(R) Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(R) Lemke	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	−	−	−	−	−	P	+	+
OHIO																				
(R) Bender	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Elston	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) Hess	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Jeffrey	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
(R) Jones	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Clevenger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) McCowen	+	P	−	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) Brown	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Smith	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P
(R) Ramey	+	F	+	+	−	P	P	A	A	A	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Jenkins	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Brehm	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Vorys	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Weichel	−	P	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Rowe	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		P	−	+
(R) Griffiths	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Carson	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) McGregor	+	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
(R) Lewis	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Kirwan	+	+	P	+		+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Feighan	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
(D) Crosser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	+	+
(R) Bolton	+	+	+	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
OKLAHOMA																				
(D) Disney	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−			−	−	−	
(D) Nichols	−	P	−	−	−	−	+						+				−	−		P
(D) Stewart	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Boren	−	−	−	−	+	+		P	P	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	A
(D) Monroney	−	−	−	−	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Johnson	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Wickersham	−	A	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A
(R) Rizley	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	−
OREGON																				
(R) Mott		−	−	+	−	−		−	−	P	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Stockman	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(R) Angell	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Ellsworth	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	A	A	−	+	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
PENNSYLVANIA																				
(R) Gallagher	−	F	F	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A		−	−	F
(D) McGranery	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	P	P
(D) Bradley	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Sheridan	+	+		+	−	P		P	P			P					+	+	−	P
(R) Pracht	P	+	F	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	−	+
(D) Myers	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−		+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Scott	−	+	F	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Wolfenden	−	+	+	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	+
(R) Gerlach	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) Kinzer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Murphy	+	+		+	P	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
(R) Miller	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	+
(R) Fenton	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P
(D) Hoch	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
(R) Gillette	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Scanlon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Ditter	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	A	A	P	P	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(R) Simpson	−	−	A	+	−	−	−	A	A	P	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Kunkel	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Gavin	−	−	A	+	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Walter	−	+		+	−	−	P	+	+	P		−	+	+	+	+	P	−	−	+
(R) Gross	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Van Zandt	−		P	+	−	P	−	P	P	P	P	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(D) Snyder	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−		−	+
(D) Furlong	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	F	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Graham	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Tibbott	−	−	−	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Kelley	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Rodger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Weiss	+	+	+	+	F	+	F	+	+	+	−	+	F	F	F	F	+	+	+	+
(D) Eberharter	+	+	P	+	+	+	F	P	P	P	P	+	F	F	F	F	+	+	−	+
(D) Wright	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
(R) Troutman	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	F
RHODE ISLAND																				
(D) Forand	+	+		+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	P	P	P	P	−	+	−	+
(D) Fogarty	P	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+
SOUTH CAROLINA																				
(D) Rivers	−	−	P	+	+	+	+	F	F	F	P	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Fulmer	−	P	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	P	−	−	−
(D) Hare	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	F	F	F	P	+	F	F	F	F	−	−	−	−
(D) Bryson	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Richards		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	−
(D) McMillan	−	−	−	+	+	P	+	P	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA																				
(R) Mundt	−	−	P	−	+	−	+	P	P	P	P	P	−	A	A	A	A	−	−	+
(R) Case	−	−	−		+	−	+	+	+	P		−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+

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Plus (+) means a vote for the administration; minus (−) means a vote against the administration.

	1 The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	2 The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill	3 Overriding Veto, Smith-Connally Bill	4 Ramspeck Federal Pay Bill	5 Opposing $25,000 Limit on Salaries	6 Federal Income-Tax Bill	7 Opposing Incentive Payments to Farmers	8 More Money for Soil Conservation	9 No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	10 No Funds for Crop Insurance	11 No More Money for Rural Electrification	12 Liquidate Home Owners' Loan Corporation	13 No Funds for Price Roll Back	14 Reduced Funds for OPA Enforcement	15 Limiting Policy Makers on Price Regulations	16 Abolishing OWI Domestic Branch	17 Creating Smith Committee	18 Continuing Dies Committee	19 Dismissing Watson, Dodd and Lovett	20 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill
TENNESSEE																				
(R) Reece	−	−	−	+	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
(R) Jennings	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	−	+
(D) Kefauver	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(D) Gore	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	P
(D) McCord	A	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Priest	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
(D) Courtney	−	−	−	+	+	P	+	F	F	+	+	+	F		P	F	−	+	−	−
(D) Murray	−	−	−	−	+	+	−			+	+						−	−	−	−
(D) Cooper	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Davis	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	A
TEXAS																				
(D) Patman	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Dies	−	P	−	P	−	P					−							−	P	P
(D) Beckworth	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Sumners	−	−	−	+		P	−	+	−	−					+		−	−	−	−
(D) Johnson, Luther	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	F	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	A
(D) Thomas	−	P	A	+	+	P	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	P	−	−
(D) Mansfield	−	−	−	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Johnson, Lyndon	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Poage	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Lanham	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Gossett	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Kleberg	−	−	−	P		−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	P
(D) West	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Thomason		−		+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
(D) Russell	−	P	−	−	+	P	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	A
(D) Worley	−	−	−	P	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	P	P
(D) Mahon	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Kilday	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	P
(D) Fisher	−	−	−		−	−	−	+		−	+	−	−				−	−	−	−
(D) Patton	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
UTAH																				
(D) Granger	+	P	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		P
(D) Robinson		F	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
VERMONT																				
(R) Plumley		P	P	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	P

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VIRGINIA																				
(D) Bland	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	P	P	−	−
(D) Harris	−	−	−	+	−	A	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Satterfield	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	P	P	P		−	F	F	F	F	−	P	−	−
(D) Drewry	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	F	F	F	F	−	−	−	−
(D) Burch	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	F	F	F	F	−	−	−	−
(D) Woodrum	−	−	−	+	−	P	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	P	−	−
(D) Robertson	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	P	−	−
(D) Smith	A	−	−	+	−	−	−	+		−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Flannagan	−	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON																				
(D) Magnuson	+	+		P	+	−						+	+	+	+	+	P	+		+
(D) Jackson	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+
(R) Norman	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Holmes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Horan	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Coffee	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA																				
(R) Schiffler	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Randolph	−	−	−	+	−		−	P	P	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	F
(R) Rohrbough	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Ellis	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	P	P	P	−	−	−	+
(D) Kee		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F
(D) Smith	+	F	+	+	−	−	P	+		−	−	+	P		P	P	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN																				
(R) Smith	−	−	−	+	−	−	P	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(P) Sauthoff	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Stevenson	F	+	+	+	−	−	P	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Wasielewski	+	+	−	+	−	+		−	−	−		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
(D) McMurray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Keefe	−	−	−	−	−	−	P	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Murray	−	−	P	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Dilweg	+	+	+	+	+	F		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
(P) Hull	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) O'Konski	+	+	−	−	+	+	F	+	+	+		−	−	+	−	−	−	+		+
WYOMING																				
(R) Barrett	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

No. 1. The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill. – This bill is generally interpreted as bringing labor unions under the provisions of the Anti-Racketeering Act, passed in 1934 to catch kidnapers and gangsters. Passed by the House on April 9, 1943, by a vote of 270-107.

No. 2. The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill. – This bill contained even more stringent anti-labor provisions than the bill agreed to by the Conference Committee of the House and the Senate, and finally enacted into law, which provided machinery for calling strikes and punishing labor leaders who deviated from the prescribed course, and prohibited trade-union contributions to political parties. Passed by the House on June 4, 1943, by a vote of 231-141.

No. 3. Overriding of the President's Veto of the Smith-Connally Bill. – This took place on June 25, 1943, and was carried by a vote of 244-108.

No. 4. The Ramspeck Federal Pay Bill. – This is a bill to increase the income of federal employees, during the war, to compensate them for the increased cost of living. Passed by the House on May 5, 1943, by a vote of 273-119.

No. 5. Lifting the $25,000 Net Ceiling Placed on Salaries by the President. – This roll call is on the final passage of the bill raising the debt limit of the United States Government, which carried a rider canceling the President's administrative order limiting net salaries after deduction of income tax to $25,000 a year. Passed by the House on March 12, 1943, by a vote of 268-129.

No. 6. Federal Income-Tax Bill. – This is the final vote in the House on the current tax bill. As finally drawn by the Conference Committee of the Senate and the House, it placed a proportionately much heavier burden of taxes on those with small incomes. Passed by the House on June 1, 1943, by a vote of 256-114.

No. 7. No Incentive Payments to Farmers. – The Cannon amendment to the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture forbids the use of any funds provided by this bill as "incentive payments." It was passed by the House on April 20, 1943, by a vote of 229-90.

No. 8. Increased Appropriation for Soil-Conservation Payments by $100,000,000. – This was a vote on the Conference Report of the Senate and the House on the

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appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture. This agreement of the House to the increase seemed to indicate a recession from its position on the Cannon amendment. The motion to concur with the Conference Report was carried on June 22, 1943, by a vote of 185-175.

No. 9. No Incentive Payments to Farmers on Certain Crops. – Later the same day the House refused to concur with the Senate on the Conference Report allowing any of the funds which they had earlier appropriated to be used as incentive payments on certain crops, so continuing their support of the Cannon amendment. The motion to concur was lost on June 22, 1943, by a vote of 166-177.

No. 10. No Funds for Crop Insurance. – On June 23, the next day, the House again took up the consideration of the Conference Report on the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture and refused to concur with its recommendation that funds be provided in this bill for crop insurance on certain crops. The motion to concur was lost on June 23, 1943, by a vote of 160-208.

No. 11. Refusal to Appropriate $10,000,000 More for the Rural-Electrification Program. – Later the same day, June 23, the House again refused to concur with the recommendation of the Conference Report that funds for the Rural-Electrification Program be increased from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000. This motion to concur was lost in the House on June 23, 1943, by a vote of 167-193.

No. 12. Liquidation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. – The bill providing the appropriation for the Independent Offices carried the Dirksen amendment providing for the liquidation of the HOLC. Passed by the House on February 17, 1943, by a vote of 224-159.

No. 13. No Funds for Roll Back of Prices. – The bill for the Appropriation for War Agencies in the Executive Office of the President was considered on June 18 in the House. An amendment was offered which forbids any funds appropriated in this bill to be used for the roll back of prices. This amendment was carried in the House on June 18, 1943, by a vote of 229-97.

No. 14. Reduce Funds for Office of Price Administration Enforcement Division. – Another amendment to the same bill was to reduce the funds for the enforcement division of the OPA from $165,000,000, recommended in the bill, to $130,000,000—a totally inadequate amount. This amendment was carried in the House on June 18, 1943, by a vote of 185-147.

No. 15. Regulating Those Who May Serve as Policy Makers of Price Regulations. – Another amendment to the same bill specified that all the personnel in the OPA in a policy-forming position with relation to the fixing of prices, must have at least five years' continuous service in the business for which they were engaged to regulate prices. This amendment was passed in the House on June 18, 1943, by a vote of 188 to 144.

No. 16. Abolish the Domestic Branch of the Office of War Information. – Another amendment to this bill refused any funds for carrying on the Domestic Division of the Office of War Information, the abolition of which would add considerably to the confusion of contradictory press releases which emanate from government sources. This amendment was carried in the House on June 18, 1943, by a vote of 218-144.

No. 17. Create the Smith Committee. – This House resolution authorized the creation of a committee headed by Howard Smith of Virginia, a bitter critic of the administration, to investigate any division of the executive branch of the government which seemed to the committee to be overstepping its authority. This resolution was passed by the House on February 11, 1943, by a vote of 294-50.

No. 18. Continue the Existence of the Dies Committee. – This resolution was passed by the House on February 10, 1943, by a vote of 302-94.

No. 19. Dismiss Watson, Dodd and Lovett. – Representative Taber of New York offered an amendment to the urgent deficiency-appropriation bill for 1943, which forbade the use of any of the funds provided by this bill for payment of the salaries of Watson, Dodd or Lovett. This amendment was passed by the House on May 18, 1943, by a vote of 278-65.

No. 20. Anti-Poll-Tax Bill. – This bill abolishes the requirement of any voter's paying a poll tax for the privilege of voting in the election for any federal position as prescribed by state law. This bill was passed by the House on May 25, 1943, by a vote of 265-110. It is important to note that most Republicans voted for this measure.

The Record of the Senate[1]

Plus (+) and minus (—) mean a vote for or against the administration.

	1 Limiting National Labor Relations Board	2 The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill	3 Overriding Veto, Smith-Connally Bill	4 Farm-Labor Deferment	5 Including Farm Labor Costs in Parity	6 Continuing Loan Powers of FSA	7 $100,000,000 for Soil Conservation	8 Appropriation for Crop Insurance	9 No CCC Funds to Keep Prices Down	10 Taft Plan for Limited Price Roll Back	11 No Federal Funds for Price Roll Back	12 Abolishing OWI Domestic Branch	13 Money for NRPB	14 Money for NYA	15 Opposing $25,000 Limit on Salaries	16 Federal Income-Tax Bill	17 Extending Reciprocal Trade Agreement	18 Dismissing Watson, Dodd and Lovett
ALABAMA																		
(D) Bankhead	P	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	P	P	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
(D) Hill	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
ARIZONA																		
(D) Hayden	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
(D) McFarland	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
ARKANSAS																		
(D) Caraway		—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
(D) McClellan	—	—	—	—	—	+	+		—	—	—	—	—	—				—
CALIFORNIA																		
(R) Johnson				—					A					A	—			
(D) Downey	+		+	—				+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
COLORADO																		
(D) Johnson		+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
(R) Milliken	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
CONNECTICUT																		
(D) Maloney	—	—	—	+			+	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
(R) Danaher	+	—		+	+	+	—	+		+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DELAWARE																		
(D) Tunnell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	+
(R) Buck	—	—	—	—		—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—			—
FLORIDA																		
(D) Andrews		A	—		—	+		+	+			+		+		—	+	—
(D) Pepper	+	—	—	+	—	+		+	+			+	+	+	—	—	+	
GEORGIA																		
(D) George		—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—
(D) Russell	+	—	—	A	—	+	+	—	+		+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—

[1] For meaning of symbols, see footnote on page 158.

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Plus (+) means a vote for the administration; minus (−) means a vote against the administration.

	1 Limiting National Labor Relations Board	2 The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill	3 Overriding Veto, Smith-Connally Bill	4 Farm-Labor Deferment	5 Including Farm Labor Costs in Parity	6 Continuing Loan Powers of FSA	7 $100,000,000 for Soil Conservation	8 Appropriation for Crop Insurance	9 No CCC Funds to Keep Prices Down	10 Taft Plan for Limited Price Roll Back	11 No Federal Funds for Price Roll Back	12 Abolishing OWI Domestic Branch	13 Money for NRPB	14 Money for NYA	15 Opposing $25,000 Limit on Salaries	16 Federal Income-Tax Bill	17 Extending Reciprocal Trade Agreement	18 Dismissing Watson, Dodd and Lovett
IDAHO																		
(D) Clark		+	F						A				+	F		−	−	
(R) Thomas		−	−	−					−						−			
ILLINOIS																		
(D) Lucas	+	−		−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	F	+	−	−	+	+
(R) Brooks			−	−				+	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	−	−	−
INDIANA																		
(D) Van Nuys	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
(R) Willis	−	P	−	−		−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+
IOWA																		
(D) Gillette		−		−	−	+	+		A				+	F	−	−	+	A
(R) Wilson	P	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−				−	−	−	−	+	−
KANSAS																		
(R) Capper	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
(R) Reed	+	−	−	−		F	P	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
KENTUCKY																		
(D) Barkley	+	−						+	F	+	+	+	F	+	−			+
(D) Chandler	P	−	A		+	+	+	−	F			−	−	−		−	+	+
LOUISIANA																		
(D) Overton	−	−	−	+		+	P		+			−	−	+	−	−	+	+
(D) Ellender		−		+	+	+	+		F			P	+	F	−	+	+	F
MAINE																		
(R) White	−	−	−	+	+		−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
(R) Brewster	−	−	−	+		+		+	−			+		F		−	−	−
MARYLAND																		
(D) Tydings	−	−	−	+		A	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A	−	−	+	−
(D) Radcliffe	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS																		
(D) Walsh	−	−	+	−	+	−	−		−	+	−	−	A		−	−	+	−
(R) Lodge		−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	F		−	−	+	−	−	+	−
MICHIGAN																		
(R) Vandenberg	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Ferguson	−	−	−	−	+	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	+
MINNESOTA																		
(R) Shipstead	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+		A	+	−	−	−	+
(R) Ball	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+				+	−	−	−	+	+
MISSISSIPPI																		
(D) Bilbo			−	−	−	+	+	−	+			+	+	+		+	+	A
(D) Eastland		−	−		−	−	+		−			−	+	−		+	+	−
MISSOURI																		
(D) Clark	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
(D) Truman	+	−	+	F				+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+
MONTANA																		
(D) Wheeler	−	+	+		−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−					
(D) Murray	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+			+		+	−		+	+
NEBRASKA																		
(R) Butler	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Wherry	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−			−
NEVADA																		
(D) McCarran	−	F	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Scrugham	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	−	−	−	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE																		
(R) Bridges	−	−	−	+	+	−	P	−	−	−	−	P	−	−		P		−
(R) Tobey		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−			−	−		−	−	+	+
NEW JERSEY																		
(R) Barbour		−	A		+	−	−							A		−	+	
(R) Hawkes	−	−	−	−	+	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
NEW MEXICO																		
(D) Hatch				−	+	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	+	
(D) Chavez	−	−	−	A	−	+	+	−	+	+	+			−	−	−	−	+	−
NEW YORK																		
(D) Wagner	+	+	+	+			P	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(D) Mead	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	−	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA																		
(D) Bailey				+	+	−	−		F				−		−	−	+	
(D) Reynolds	−	−	−	+	−				−	−	−			−	−	−	+	−
NORTH DAKOTA																		
(R) Nye			+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Langer	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
OHIO																		
(R) Taft	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Burton	+	−	A	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	−	−		−	−	+	+
OKLAHOMA																		
(D) Thomas	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
(R) Moore	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−
OREGON																		
(R) McNary	P	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	P	P	+	A			−	+	
(R) Holman	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
PENNSYLVANIA																		
(R) Davis	P	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	A		+	−	−	+		−	−	−
(D) Guffey	+		+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+		−	+	+
RHODE ISLAND																		
(D) Gerry	−	−	−	F	+	−	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Green	P		+	F	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	−			F
SOUTH CAROLINA																		
(D) Smith			−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	+	−
(D) Maybank	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+	−
SOUTH DAKOTA																		
(R) Gurney	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Bushfield		−		−	+	−	+		A				−		−	−		
TENNESSEE																		
(D) McKellar	−	−	−	A	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
(D) Stewart	−	−	−	A	−		+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
TEXAS																		
(D) Connally	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	P	−	−	A			−	+	+	−
(D) O'Daniel		−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
UTAH																		
(D) Thomas		+	+	−	−	+	P	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	P		+
(D) Murdock	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	F	+				+
VERMONT																		
(R) Austin	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	P	A			−	F	−	−	+	−
(R) Aiken	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
VIRGINIA																		
(D) Glass			A						F					A				
(D) Byrd	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−			−	−	−	−	−	+	−
WASHINGTON																		
(D) Bone		+	+	A		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Wallgren	+	P	F			+		+	F	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA																		
(D) Kilgore	+		+	+				−	+	+	+	+	F	+				+
(R) Revercomb	−	−	−	−		−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WISCONSIN																		
(P) La Follette	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
(R) Wiley		−	−	−	+	+				−	−		−		−	−	+	
WYOMING																		
(D) O'Mahoney	−		−	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+
(R) Robertson	−	−	−	−			P	+	−	−	−	−	−	−				−

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No. 1. Limiting the Jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board. – An amendment to the labor-federal security agency appropriation bill, prohibiting the NLRB from holding elections at any plant where a contract of more than ninety days' duration exists between any group of employees and the management. This prohibition exists for the duration of the war only. This amendment was passed by the Senate on July 2, 1943, by a vote of 40 to 25.

No. 2. Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill. – This bill, as it was passed by the Senate on May 5, 1943, provided machinery for calling strikes and punishing labor leaders who deviated from the prescribed course. Later a prohibition against trade-union contributions to political parties was added by the House and agreed to by the Senate. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of 63 to 16.

No. 3. Overriding the President's Veto of the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill. – This vote took place on June 25, 1943, and was carried in the Senate by a vote of 56 to 25.

No. 4. Farm-Labor Deferment. – A bill to freeze farm labor by defining such labor as an essential occupation for purposes of the draft. This bill was passed by the Senate on March 17, 1943, by a vote of 50 to 24.

No. 5. Including Farm-Labor Costs in Computing Parity. – This is the so-called Bankhead amendment to the agricultural-appropriation bill, instructing the Department of Agriculture to consider labor and certain other costs in computing parity. The net result of the amendment is to increase the value of parity. This amendment was originally passed as the Bankhead bill by the Senate on February 25, 1943, with only two dissenting votes, cast by Green and Gerry of Rhode Island, and was vetoed by the President. At the time of the veto the bill was referred back to committee instead of being allowed to die, and was reported back by the committee as an amendment to this bill. This amendment was defeated in the Senate on June 11, 1943, by a vote of 36 to 37.

No. 6. Continuing Loan Powers of the Farm-Security Administration. – This was a vote on an amendment offered by Senator Byrd of Virginia to strip the FSA of its power to make loans to small farmers and transfer the loans to the Farm Credit Administration and the supervision of the loans to the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. This amendment was defeated on June 10, 1943, by a vote of 25 to 53.

No. 7. Increasing Appropriation for Soil-Conservation Payments by $100,000,000. – On June 8, 1943, when considering the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture, the Senate committee in charge of the bill recommended that the appropriation for soil-conservation payments should be increased from $300,000,000 to $400,000,000 to cover the commitments made by the Secretary of Agriculture to farmers in his crop-program announcement of December, 1942. The amendment was passed on June 8, 1943, by a vote of 49 to 20.

No. 8. Appropriation for Crop Insurance. – Senator Russell of Georgia moved that the Senate concur with the House on the Conference Report on the agriculture appropriation bill and appropriate no money for the continuance of crop insurance. This motion was defeated in the Senate on July 1, 1943, by a vote of 21 to 53. Later, however, the Senate did agree with the position of the House, and the crop-insurance program is to be discontinued.

No. 9. Prohibiting the Use of Commodity Credit Corporation Funds for Roll Back of Prices. – This amendment to the CCC appropriation bill passed the Senate on June 26, 1943, by a vote of 39 to 36.

No. 10. Taft Amendment Providing for Limited Roll Back of Prices. – The President vetoed the Commodity Credit Corporation appropriation bill, saying it would tend toward inflation. The House receded from its position and agreed to appropriate funds for the roll back. In the Senate Taft introduced an amendment to the bill limiting the funds for the roll back to $525,000,000. On July 6, 1943, this amendment was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 31 to 33.

No. 11. Prohibiting the Use of Any Federal Funds for Price Roll Backs. – Later on July 6, 1943, an amendment to the Commodity Credit Corporation bill was offered by Tydings, prohibiting the use of *any* federal funds for the purpose of the roll back of prices, and this amendment was passed by the Senate by a vote of 36 to 28. On July 8, 1943, however, the Senate finally receded from its position and concurred with the House in withdrawing any prohibition against roll backs.

No. 12. Appropriation of Funds for the Domestic Branch of the Office of War Information. – The House voted no appropriation for the Domestic Branch of the Office of War Information. The Senate restored part of the appropriation for limited operations of the Domestic Branch. On June 30, Senator O'Mahoney offered an amendment to the bill for the Appropriations of War Agencies in the Executive Office of the President to increase the appropriation for the Domestic Branch of the OWI from $3,500,000 to $5,000,000, to enable it to function more efficiently, even with its more limited functions. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 34 to 40.

No. 13. Appropriation for the National Resources Planning Board. – The House refused to make any appropriation for the NRPB in the independent-offices appropriation bill. The Senate committee in charge of the bill offered an amendment to appropriate $200,000, an entirely inadequate sum, for this agency. Senator McKellar offered an amendment to the committee's amendment to increase this appropriation to $500,000. This amendment was defeated on May 27, 1943, by a vote in the Senate of 31 to 43. The $200,000 amendment was passed by the Senate, but later, in conference with the House, it was agreed to abolish the board.

No. 14. Appropriation for the National Youth Administration. – On June 28, when considering the appropriation bill for labor and federal security agency, the Senate committee in charge of this bill offered an amendment to include in the bill an appropriation to continue the National Youth Administration, which the House had deleted from the bill. This amendment was passed in the Senate by a vote of 41 to 37. However, later in conference with the House, the Senate agreed to recede from its position, and the NYA was abolished.

No. 15. Lifting the $25,000 Net Ceiling Placed on Salaries by the President. – On March 23, 1943, the Senate considered the bill to raise the debt limit of the United States Government, which had already been amended by the House to raise the $25,000 limit placed on salaries by

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presidential order. The Senate amended the House provision, making it even more liberal, by an overwhelming vote of 74 to 3. The vote in the Senate, coming as it did on the amendment, and not the bill as in the House, is thus entirely free from any possible confusion as to what the vote was about.

No. 16. Federal Income-Tax Bill. – This is the final vote in the Senate on the current tax law. As finally drawn by the Conference Committee of the House and the Senate, it placed a proportionately much heavier burden of taxes on those with small incomes. Passed by the Senate on June 2, 1943, by a vote of 62 to 19.

No. 17. Extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements. – This measure passed the Senate on June 2, 1943, by a vote of 59 to 23.

No. 18. Dismiss Watson, Dodd and Lovett. – Representative Taber of New York offered an amendment to the urgent deficiency appropriation bill for 1943, which forbade the use of any of the funds provided by this bill for payment of the salaries of Watson, Dodd or Lovett. The Kerr Committee had previously recommended the dismissal of these men for their connection with various organizations which were defined as subversive by the Dies Committee, and the agencies for which they worked had refused to discharge them, claiming them to be efficient and patriotic citizens. Then the Senate, claiming this was a bill of attainder, at first refused to accept the House amendment to the bill by a vote of 69 to 0, but later, as a result of House refusal to recede from its position, voted to concur with the House by a vote of 48 to 32 on July 2, 1943.

Congress and the Food Question

NO QUESTION WAS BUNGLED more badly in the present session of Congress than the one of the nation's food. In order to understand the failure of Congress it is necessary to know two things: First, what is the farm bloc and who is behind it? And second, what would have been included in a wise congressional program?

The farm bloc is merely one manifestation, but an important one, of that shifting coalition in Congress comprised of Southern poll-taxers and reactionary Northern Republicans, who are often joined by the Ham Fishes, Dieses, Hoffmans and similar disrupters in pushing through their measures. Masquerading as spokesmen for the farmers, the farm bloc seeks to conceal its true identity; but the backing of this group becomes clear, for example, when one examines the campaign contributions made by the Mellon-duPont-Pew interests to elect a farm-bloc leader like Sen. Harlan D. Bushfield of South Dakota.

Behind the farm bloc is the Farm Lobby, comprising the leaders of the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the National Council of Farmer Coöperatives and the National Coöperative Milk Producers' Federation. The two latter organizations are really one, and the members have no direct voice in the policies adopted by the leaders. In the Bureau and the Grange, however, the members do have a voice in the organization and today many of them are becoming vigorous in their protests against the actions taken by their top leaders. These members point out that, in following a farm-bloc line, the leaders are departing from the letter as well as the spirit of resolutions adopted at national and local conferences.

City people as well as farmers must concern themselves with the antics of the farm bloc, for, despite the pretense that the bloc is based upon cotton and corn interests, the fact of the matter is that policy is often made by the controlling clique in the National Association of Manufacturers and that urban as well as rural congressmen are found bundling together under its blanket. But it must also be noticed that, on agricultural issues, many congressmen are induced to vote with the farm bloc because they think that it speaks for the farmers; it is only by the joint action of city and country voters that the bloc can be routed.

In seeking to play politics with the food problem, the farm-bloc boys have clearly shown that they have no positive program for increasing farm production. On the one hand Herbert Hoover, as head of the Feed Europe Movement, urges that we send large quantities of foodstuffs to the peoples of Nazi-dominated Europe, while on the other hand Hoover argues that the food shortage is so critical we must go easy on the military front and "not attempt too much."

The farm bloc has fought to prevent the administration from introducing any new programs capable of stimulating farm production or continuing federal programs already in existence. The Farm Security Administration, which succeeded in greatly increasing the output from small farms, has been the target of a vicious farm-bloc assault; and though the bloc failed in its attempt to kill off the FSA this year, it managed to reduce its funds by more than a third.

Instead of working to expand food production, the attempt of the farm bloc has been to create the "food shortage" which it has been prophesying so noisily. Even though the nation is at war, the bloc has concerned itself with playing politics-as-usual, seeking to create chaos so that it can blame the damage upon the administration in office.

The farm bloc's proposal for meeting the "food shortage" is to reduce consumption. As Herbert Hoover put it, "We can ration down consumption standards," or, as Governor Dewey sugarcoats the pill, the people must shift from a meat diet to a cereal diet.

There are obviously two different food shortages: one is a fake shortage which the farm bloc tries to

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blame upon "bureaucracy" and "dictatorship," while the other is the real one created by the vast demands of war for more and more food.

The records show that last year the farmers produced 12 percent more food than in any previous year. This was 42 percent more than was produced in the last war, despite Hoover's boasts about his record as food administrator. The figures also show that the nation was better fed in 1943 than ever before. What, then, is the food shortage?

The answer is that total war requires total mobilization of our resources, including agriculture. Food is needed in larger quantities than ever before, not only to feed our allies, but also to meet the extra requirements of hungry soldiers and hard-working defense workers. Every advance of our armed forces in Axis-dominated areas can be counted upon further to increase the demand for foodstuffs. And even after the war, as the United Nations' Food Conference has shown, the demand for foodstuffs will become larger.

A first requirement for long-range planning is to extend crop goals beyond their present one-year formulation. Farm leaders and farmers are looking for a schedule of such goals based on a listing of crops which should have priority, and not only broken down on a regional, state and county basis, but also applied to the particular farm.

The implementation of such a program requires longer-term price-support programs, covering the full production cycle of specific crops. In many instances it may call for government contracts with growers for the purchase of vital war crops, with guarantees that the growers of these crops will receive the necessary machinery, manpower, credit and supplies. In the case of hazardous war crops, the farmer is looking for government programs to underwrite the risk through crop insurance and through loans for which he will not have to give his farm or chattels as security. Similarly, the farmer will need government provision of emergency channels for marketing and distribution of crops where this is necessary to prevent farmers from being underpaid and consumers from being overcharged.

But long-range planning in itself is not enough. There must be a realistic and effective means of achieving the conversion of our agricultural production from less essential to more essential foods and fibers. Subsidy payments, in the same way that they afford a *means* for realizing a roll back in the cost of living without lowering prices to the farmers, constitute one of the outstanding mechanisms for realizing a shift in agricultural production. Production subsidies are necessary in many cases to help the farmers meet the cost of such a shift; in all cases they serve as a concrete incentive for the farmer to make the required changes in his production. Over and above production subsidies to achieve conversion, incentive payments to farmers who exceed normal production of badly needed crops will give increased production, just as incentive wages in industry are bringing about increased industrial production.

The means for accomplishing conversion and full war production of vital crops are one side of the coin. The reverse side calls for positive action to control the production of less essential crops. For example, we cannot shift from cotton to more essential crops without effective price ceilings on raw cotton so that cotton prices will not continue to increase and thereby discourage the shift to more essential crops. And again, farmers who coöperate in a conversion program have a right to expect full technical assistance, available credit, machinery and manpower.

The critical annual peak of agricultural production this summer will demonstrate fully that the basic principles of a farm-labor program must include maintenance of a mobile farm-labor force and training and allocation of workers to essential crops. The anarchical peacetime mechanism of huge labor surpluses, which produced mobility in the past, no longer exists. As a substitute, freezing of workers in all agricultural production—the farm-bloc solution—might easily defeat the very objective of maximum production of vital foods. As in the case of agricultural labor, the problem of adequate farm machinery requires more attention to the production of specific implements and machinery needed for war crops instead of continuing in the pro-rata distribution of general farm equipment on the basis of *past* machinery sales. The coöperative use of farm machinery is working exceedingly well in areas where it is practised.

We must recognize the necessity of practical programs which will bring idle crop land and abandoned farms into production of essential war crops by putting to work the under-utilized manpower of several million small farmers who still have not been brought into war production. The Farm Security Administration program has demonstrated that proper financial credit and technical guidance yield significant increases in output on the part of these small farmers. Expansion of the FSA type of assistance through a vigorous war-loan program, unhindered by banker-minded administrators, and using the credit facilities of the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation, provides an immediate means of increasing production of essential foods. Closer coördination between the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and FSA programs will assist this in most areas. And in all federal farm programs, strengthening the farmer-committeeman structure will assure local, democratic participation.

In keeping with an all-out domestic war food program, and following through the proposals made at the United Nations Food Conference, it is essential that the United States take the lead in throwing open the door for full participation in war food production by Canada, Latin and South America, our allies and the liberated areas.

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Congress and the Cost of Living

ANOTHER AREA where Congress has acted very badly indeed is that of controlling the cost of living. Here again, in order to understand the measure of its failure, one needs to know both what it did and what ought to have been done for a proper solution. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt's last-minute victory—by one vote in the Senate—on the subsidy issue still makes some degree of price control possible. But if Congress comes back from its vacation in the same mood in which it went away, the outlook is dark.

In the first week of May, the OPA announced its program to put foods under specific dollars-and-cents ceilings and to roll back food prices by means of subsidies. That was the first indication since the war started that anyone in the government seriously intended to tie down retail prices and hold them down.

Naturally this frightened the inflationists, who had been hoping all along that the issue would never be sharply drawn. The big guns of inflationism had to come out and fight. Department-store organizations were the spearhead for the retail industry, national-brand advertisers carried the flag for consumers'-goods manufacturers, and the farm bloc allied itself as usual with the big processors of farm products. Before the fight was over, they were openly advocating what all along they had been secretly wanting—take the lid off and let 'em go—cripple the OPA or dismember it.

The temporary defeat of these forces on the subsidy issue brings some price control back to the level of possibility. It remains many levels below actuality. What the administration now does to translate its victory into reduced retail prices and enforced price ceilings will determine how much of a victory it has won. What the folks back home do to their representatives during the summer recess will determine how much longer the administration will be able to translate its victory into tangible gains.

Assuming that Congress, during its summer at home, will learn that people do want price control, it is in order to consider what steps will have to be taken from here on to make price control effective. Simply stated, we shall have to have (1) a control agency big enough to do the job, (2) comprehensive control of prices and supplies all down the line, and (3) a complete divorcement between price control and production.

Just how large the OPA needs to be to have an even chance at success cannot be known in advance. Present expenditures are now running at the rate of $160,000,000 a year. At least double this sum would be needed. Congress, however, trimmed it to $155,000,000.

The OPA enforcement staff of some 2,500 would need to be tripled at the least. The present staff allows for some 250 investigators of price and rationing regulations for the entire retail beat of 550,000 food stores. To be sure, the public must help to enforce price controls, but the public cannot perfect evidence for court action. Nor can this ridiculous staff of 250.

The vital step toward actual control of prices is recognition of the all-or-nothing character of the problem. Piecemeal controls simply will not work. Prices and the division and disposition of supplies must be controlled at every level of distribution. Yet to date, much effort has been devoted to avoiding controls rather than increasing them.

Striking evidence of the price we pay for piecemeal policies was given to us last spring. Canned vegetables were put under rationing. At the same time there were no adequate controls of fresh-vegetable prices anywhere along the line. Prices soared out of sight, and as a result the food-price index went up from March to May by the most rapid increase recorded at any time since the war began.

The most dangerous of all our piecemeal practices stems from the notion that rationing is necessary only when supplies of a commodity become "scarce." The notion is meaningless, because all commodities are "scarce" today, when excess purchasing power exists. But it is also dangerous, because it obscures the essential fact that rationing is indispensable to price control. We must ration to make price controls effective. We must fix prices to make ration controls effective.

Comprehensive control requires also that the OPA's present tentative steps to establish fixed and understandable ceilings on some food prices in some cities be expanded to all consumers' goods everywhere. Enforcement is impossible if legal ceilings are unintelligible. Consumers must know what the ceilings are. This seems obvious, yet the pressure against it exerted through Congress by commercial interests is tremendous. The OPA already appears to be falling back from the rather limited objective which it announced only three months ago when it promised "community" ceilings for some food prices.

The same consideration requires, of course, that ceiling prices be tied to specific kinds and qualities of goods. Otherwise hidden violations occur when stores charge top price for bottom quality. This too is self-evident, yet on this front, also, the OPA is in retreat. It surrendered its quality controls on canned goods, and now has been ordered by Act of Congress not to require any merchant to show the quality of any product upon its label. Price control is an official swindle under this legislative restriction.

The livestock industry now has a large plan for control. It sounds comprehensive, but one little feature of it provides for the complete elimination of all price

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controls after a proposed meat-industry board has taken firm hold of the supply to parcel it out. The retail trades have been pounding all this year for the right to figure their own price ceilings.

Third major step toward effective price control is to cut it loose from production control. Higher price levels are not now needed by any industry to assure the operation of that industry at the desired level of output. The false notion still persists that we can't have price control and production at the same time.

The price-control authority, therefore, should have complete jurisdiction over prices, from the farm, mine or factory all the way down to the retail store. It should control those prices primarily with a view to holding them firm. When necessary to meet unavoidable increase in costs, subsidies should be employed and prices held.

Production authorities, like the War Food Administration and the WPB, should have complete authority over production, none over prices. When necessary to get the required production, subsidies should be used, prices left alone. In most instances, however, especially in agriculture, higher money return is not the aid most needed by the producer. He wants access to production supplies, such as fertilizer and feed. He wants labor. And if he is a small farmer, with land and manpower which he cannot utilize completely, he wants credit and capital to put his farm on a full-production basis. Much more than the lure of *rising* prices, the intelligent farmer today wants the assurance of *guaranteed* prices when his crop is ready for market.

Price control must be divorced from production control to get good results on either one. Today price control is a failure because price manipulation is still thought necessary for stimulating production. Meanwhile production, especially of foods, is falling down because the price stimulant has long since lost its effectiveness. Rising prices, like whiskey, can start things but can't keep them going.

By substituting specific subsidies for general price changes we can get better price control and better production both for the government and for the consumer. Under the pressure of trying to keep inefficient operators at work for wartime output we have been lavishing rich windfalls of profit on low-cost operators. Only by subsidies, applied when and where necessary, paid only to those who need them, can we begin to recapture any part of these windfall profits. Hence, the violence of the attack leveled against the President's program for rolling prices back by use of subsidy.

One further step toward effective price control would be to hang a sign on price-control headquarters—"Under New Management."

Perhaps we are getting that now. Dismissal of Chester Davis established the central authority of the White House over price-control management. Economic Stabilizer Fred Vinson now possesses that authority and evidently knows what it is for and intends to use it. The new Food Administrator, Marvin Jones, undoubtedly is in harmony with that determination. Prentiss Brown at the moment stands amid the ruins of his appeasement program. Some say he was ordered to follow that policy. He himself said it was necessary, in order to get the funds needed for price control. He failed to get the funds. He did get restricting legislation which can be translated into price control only by the greatest resourcefulness, courage and determination. More than ever, it is now a job for strong administrators, backed up by strong public support and strong public demand for real price control.

A Tax Program

THE TROUBLE with the congressional tax program is that it doesn't exist. From all the debate and maneuvering of the recent session, nothing has emerged but confusion. The accounting problem presented to ordinary taxpayers by the 1943 revenue act is ridiculously complex, yet tax yields are still insufficient. And the Treasury, which might have been expected to provide leadership in the face of congressional blundering, has dissipated its forces in attacking the Ruml plan, without offering a consistent alternative.

Neither Congress nor the Treasury has been quite willing to face the problems of wartime finance. The fact that wars are not won merely with money has served as an excuse for sidestepping the issue of taxation. Even the admirable British example has been largely ignored.

In peacetime, a liberal tax policy rests on two main principles: to raise revenue in the most equitable way possible, and to smooth out inequalities in the distribution of income. In time of war, a third principle must be added: to curtail private expenditures and thus prevent competitive bidding from driving up the prices of commodities. Most errors in the discussion of war finance arise either from ignoring this third aim or from assuming that it supplants the other two.

A general sales tax has an irresistible appeal to many conservatives. It seems, and to some extent it is, counter-inflationary in character. At the moment, however, it is open to the very serious objection that it would raise so little money it is hardly worth considering. A tax of 10 percent—surely the maximum—placed on all normal household expenditures, would raise no more than five billions, less than 5 percent of our pres-

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We're Keeping Score for '44

Our country's war is going well on all fronts but one. We're losing out on the *home front.*

- ***Labor has been frozen in its wages and frozen in its jobs.***
- ***Prices and profits have sky-rocketed.***
- ***The Smith-Connally bill has substituted repression for voluntary bargaining procedure.***
- ***Planning for a decent post-war economy has been scrapped.***

The enemy of victory on the *home front* is a large section of Congress—Representatives and Senators who are fighting the people of the United States while the people are engaged in a war with the Axis.

American labor is not ready to abandon the home front to these selfish forces who would make a mockery of our soldiers' sacrifices on the battlefields.

Labor seeks no advantages from the war. Labor's men are dying and sweating. Labor wants the war won completely and as soon as possible.

Labor extends its coöperation to those who are ready to fight the *home front* battles as well as the war on foreign soil.

Let's start now the drive to recapture Congress for the people.

Labor proposes: Restore the May, 1941, balance between wages and prices; repeal the Smith-Connally Act; plan now for a peace that will insure full employment.

THIS IS THE UAW-CIO

979,267 members—all war workers
200,00 members in the armed forces
$307,000,000 in War Bonds yearly
$4,250,000 to Red Cross and relief
400,000 blood donors, men and women

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS *of AMERICA, CIO*

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ent national budget. If exemptions were made of food and other necessities—and such exemptions would be politically inescapable—the total revenue would be at most only about three billions.

Nevertheless a strong attempt to impose such a tax will be made in Congress after the recess. This attempt will be supported by the National Association of Manufacturers, among others, and opposed by the AFL and the CIO, also among others. And the opposition is amply justified. Not only is the sales tax too small, but it falls most heavily on those least able to pay. It takes no account of family status, number of dependents, or other obligations such as medical expenses. Furthermore, there can be no assurance that it would be removed after the war. (On the contrary. Nothing is more tenacious than a bad tax.)

Conversely, taxes on corporate profits have only a negligible effect in combating inflation, since they are paid out of funds that probably would not have been spent during the war in any case. But the growth of large corporate reserves intensifies the concentration of wealth and economic power. Now is the time to attack this problem through stiffer corporation taxes.

The tax burden is already heavy and must become heavier. It is increasingly important that the lowest income groups should be protected from impositions that would crush them. Taxation must not be allowed to encroach upon the maintenance of minimum necessary standards of life. Sacrifices must not be distributed capriciously.

In the light of these principles, we offer a tax program of five simple points:

1. Taxes must be increased. Effective price control can hardly exist unless this is done.

2. Income taxes must be the chief source of the necessary increase in revenue. Personal and family exemptions should be maintained at their present level to protect minimum living standards, but rates should be raised all along the line.

3. Inheritance and gift taxes should be increased and loopholes in the tax laws should be closed, in the interests of post-war economic democracy.

4. Corporation taxes should be increased.

5. A system of compulsory savings, along British lines, should be introduced as a means of draining off current purchasing power from the lower income groups while at the same time protecting their post-war economic position.

Labor Goes into Action

"UPON THE SHOULDERS OF LABOR as well as on others must rest some of the responsibility for the present position of Congress," Philip Murray said on a CIO radio program the other day. "Not enough labor voters turned out to the polls in 1942 and insufficient effort was devoted to the election of progressive candidates. . . . We are beginning now our preparations for next year's elections. We hope to have established the necessary machinery for bringing out labor voters to the polls."

To the delight of those liberals who had known about the importance of political action for a long time, Murray did not stop there. "But there is an immediate job," he went on, "that can be done by all Americans. Our Senators and Representatives are now returning home. These lawmakers wish to learn the sentiments of their constituents. It is up to all of us to let them know what steps must be taken to promote national unity, to prevent inflation and generally to make the home front gear itself to help bring about the earliest possible victory on the battlefront. Our armed forces invading Sicily today and fighting on other fronts have a right to expect that of us at home." Then came the new note: "The CIO, for its part, hopes to call special conferences in every community or congressional district to bring about frank discussion of these many problems. It will invite to these conferences representatives of all sections of organized labor, consumer groups, public and civic officials, and of course the members of the Congress."

It is a little late, but here it is. The CIO is serious about politics, apparently determined to do the practical thing by the elections of 1944. The CIO has called on the AFL and the Railway Brotherhoods to unite with it to be "the backbone of support for the policies of our Commander-in-Chief," to formulate a joint program for winning the war on all fronts as rapidly as possible and to "create joint committees on a local and state basis" to do it. Simply calling for this kind of joint action is not all that is required to achieve it. But calling for it is at least more than has been done in the past. Perhaps labor may yet make its weight felt in American politics before it is too late.

The week before President Murray made this radio address on political action, the CIO Executive Board had given him a clear mandate for the action he took, in a series of resolutions. One board resolution went into even greater detail in its recommendations:

> The presidents of the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods should convene a national conference of representatives of organized labor and other sympathetic groups and organizations in an endeavor to mobilize on a national basis the entire population to assure the successful prosecution of the war and the defeat of any effort of our enemies to undermine, weaken or sabotage the war policies of our nation and of our Commander-in-Chief.

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"...*The* STEELWORKERS *fully understand...*"

The most important task confronting every American and every labor union today is the one of making the maximum contribution in support of our Nation's struggle to win the war. The steel workers of the Nation fully understand the situation and have dedicated all of their energies and activities toward this end.

Unfortunately, we find in our country today groups in Congress and in industry who prefer to maintain their politics-as-usual and business-as-usual policies regardless of the effect which this may have upon the war effort. Further, these very groups who through their acts are undermining the war effort actually seek to cast blame for the disruption, confusion and difficulties which they have caused, upon the President of the United States and organized labor.

The war program of this Nation and of our President and Commander-in-Chief can only be prosecuted through the unswerving and wholehearted support of the entire Nation. It is the function of organized labor to assume the leadership in forging this national unity of all groups and interests in our national life.

The United Steelworkers of America, as one of the largest labor unions in this Nation, pledges on behalf of its 800,000 members and the members of their families to do everything within its power to marshal all true Americans in an unshakable national unity behind our President and Commander-in-Chief in prosecuting this war to a final and successful conclusion.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

1500 Commonwealth Building Pittsburgh, Pa.

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The resolution went on to say that such a conference should establish "the means and procedures for local mobilization of the people in order that they may . . . create the means for communicating to the congressmen . . . the determination of all true Americans . . . to support our Commander-in-Chief in his challenge to the nation for a more vigorous and affirmative prosecution of the war."

Meanwhile union after union was discovering for itself the urgent need of a political-action program. They were swinging into practice step for the big move Phil Murray has now signaled. It can be carried out successfully if every part of the team does its job. The first test of labor's new determination to make its weight as citizens felt will come with the emergency recess campaign scheduled for this summer to impress Congress on cost-of-living issues. Phil Murray's specific instructions for that campaign are listed above. But there was even more to what the CIO president had to say about working people and politics. "The working people of America have a deep and abiding faith in our democratic institutions. If Congress has been remiss in its war duties, as we believe it has, the remedy rests with the American people. We believe that our democracy will demonstrate beyond question its superior war efficiency over dictatorship."

A Program for Political Action

IN THE PRECEDING PAGES you have read the sorry story of the Unholy Alliance and its campaign of sabotage against the wartime needs of the American people.

You have read, too, an outline of the objectives of a counter-offensive on the inner front against the architects of reaction, disunity and defeat. It is a positive program for more food, more arms, price control, a people's tax program. It is a program which must be carried out if the invasion of Sicily by Eisenhower, timed to coincide with the renewal of the Axis offensive in Russia, is to develop into a full-scale invasion of Europe.

Our job from this moment forward is to devote our full strength, energy and ingenuity to letting Congress know that the American people are sick to death of what is, at its least, pettifogging perfidy, and at most, deliberate treason against the country. We must let the congressmen who have supported the Commander-in-Chief know that we are back of them solidly; and we must let the minority of willful men know that we are uncompromisingly pledged to their defeat in 1944. The large middle group must be made to understand that they must begin voting for victory.

How do we organize this part of the counter-offensive? How do we carry out the battle instructions that are required if our program is to win the day and rout the enemy within?

First, we must recognize that it is going to take organized planning and action.

Second, we must recognize that the best place to start is where there is already a good deal of organization: the labor movement. In every community in America within the next few weeks there should be established real unity among the CIO, the AFL and the railroad unions on a plan for carrying out this immediate program.

Joining with these workers should be all manner of other organizations—women's groups like the League of Women Voters and the Federated Women's Clubs; Negro groups like the NAACP and the National Negro Congress; farm groups like the Farmers' Union, the National Farm Mobilization Committee and the Ohio Farm Bureau; youth and church and civic bodies; nationality organizations.

In each community a working committee should be set up, representing the broadest possible cross section of the community, a cross section which can unite on the basis of this positive program. It should have a headquarters where meetings can be held and plans made for the campaigns of this summer, fall and winter.

This committee should have three specific objectives:

1. Explaining this program to a maximum number of people.
2. Getting people to "tell-it-to-Congress."
3. Registering every voter in the community in ample time to vote in next year's primaries and general elections.

These objectives can be carried out in the following ways:

Mass meetings, letters to the editor, radio broadcasts, handbills, sound trucks touring the city streets, a speakers' bureau covering club meetings, newspaper interviews with prominent local citizens, articles in labor and organizational journals—yes, and house-to-house canvassing—all these are methods for letting the public know what is the score on Congress.

Getting people to "tell-it-to-Congress" is a tougher job, because that requires a positive act from thousands of individuals in every community. But it can be done, as the UAW-CIO demonstrated recently in a Detroit experiment which produced an estimated 200,000 messages to Congress.

During the Recess.—The best time to tell your congressman what you think is when he's at home, as he is now. Congress closed up shop for two months July 8.

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A broadsheet issued by PEP
(Political and Economic Planning)

A British group of economists, business men and men in government began publishing, in 1933, a broadsheet called *Planning*. Brought out at intervals of approximately two weeks, each issue was confined to some specific problem of an economic or social nature. Complete informality—and anonymity—was maintained, and all recommendations have proceeded from group discussion and group thinking.

The value of the group's work in exploring and formulating needed plans for war and post-war reconstruction has long been recognized in Britain and should be better known in the USA.

For the past several months The New Republic has acted as representative for PEP. As a result of announcements published in this magazine, the subscription list for *Planning* in America has been greatly increased by the addition of names of prominent economists, labor leaders, journalists, business enterprises and agencies of government.

Planning costs $4.50 for a twelve-months' subscription. American subscribers receive the broadsheet quite promptly after publication in London. A master copy is sent to us by Clipper mail; from this, offset reproductions are made in New York. The mailing is then done here.

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Until mid-September your congressman will be mending his fences. Here's what you can do now.

Call on him yourself. Let him know that you expect him to stand up and fight for democracy by supporting the President and his program for victory.

Get a group of your neighbors together and call on your congressman with the same program.

Get your union or other organization to name a committee to call on him.

Throughout the district, organize meetings open to the public, where he is invited to speak and to answer questions about this program.

Invite several congressmen, if you live in a city, to a meeting where they can explain their votes on specific measures.

Arrange to get time on the air for your congressman and a couple of prominent citizens who support this program, for a round-table discussion of it.

But most of all, visit him. Organize delegations from clubs, from neighborhoods, from the shops. Where it's impossible to go to see him, try to get him to come to you. For example, workers on the night shift might be given a chance to query their congressman in a meeting at the plant gates.

When He Goes Back to Washington. – Now is the time to plan for your community a Tell-It-to-Congress Week to take place as soon as Congress reconvenes.

In this way you can dramatize the need for keeping in touch with your man in Washington, whether he is a Senator Victory or a Representative Bottleneck. Make it a communitywide affair, with a proclamation from the mayor or president of the council. It's good for plenty of newspaper space. It lends itself to the expression of issues in terms of slogans which will help to get the program across to lots of people.

Heart of such a Tell-It-To-Congress Week is a postcard campaign. Sample messages must be prepared and widely distributed. Do not tackle too many issues at once. Two or three is enough—rolling back prices, abolishing the poll tax, subsidizing food production.

People must be urged to *sign their names and addresses* to cards and letters. Otherwise the congressman has a right to doubt the sincerity of the writer. Otherwise, too, the writer will get no reply. And many a card writer, once he hears from his congressman, even though the reply is a sour one, will be encouraged to keep on writing his representatives in Washington.

Which brings up this point: under no circumstances should a Tell-It-To-Congress Week be allowed to end the campaign. It is the opening gun only. Thereafter, at every club and union meeting, a legislative or political-action committee should be ready with a new issue and a batch of postcards and pencils so that the members can keep on telling it to Congress.

In the giant Ford River Rouge plant, a plan is now being worked out for posting throughout the plant a board containing a congressional-district map of Wayne County, a supply of penny postcards and a coin box, and a bulletin, changed weekly, containing the latest dope on what congressmen should be told about.

Another device is the town-meeting plan of the United Electrical Workers. These are neighborhood meetings under UE auspices, where the neighbors hear discussions of current issues and are invited to write postcards on the spot.

Registering the Vote. – All the clamor of telling Congress what you think will mean little if the American people stay away from the polls in the primaries and general elections of 1944. These elections will be the most critical in our history.

Right now we must be planning out the campaign to get voters registered. This may best be done by precincts or neighborhoods, perhaps through the union or club. One possible method in some states will be swearing in union members as registrars, empowered to register voters at the union hall. Another will require preparing posters containing explicit instructions: where to go, residence requirements, and so on. Perhaps the election officials will send registration crews to plants and outlying communities to help save gas and rubber.

Getting Out the Vote. – It is perhaps too early to talk about the technique of getting registered voters to the polls, but this is of course the *sine qua non* of making Congress toe the line. Plans should be made within every organization to make sure that when election day comes around, the battle will not be lost for lack of preparation.

1944

THIS CONGRESS HAS REFUSED to face the future. But whether the gentleman from Georgia and Michigan like it or not, the future is on their doorstep. They must face it. We all must face it.

These gentlemen and their colleagues were elected because of our apathy. They must not be reëlected for the same reason.

Already Sicily has been invaded. As the war progresses, as victory comes nearer, our impatience with legislators who sabotage the war and the peace will increase.

Either the gentlemen from Michigan and Georgia (and Maine and Oregon and Texas) will rise to their responsibilities or they must be thrown out. The American people, for all our contradictions and confusions, don't like war and don't like unemployment. We want a new world and don't intend to let a few obstructionists stand in our way—even though they dress themselves in Jefferson's cast-off trousers.

Sam Rayburn was wrong. Nineteen fourty-four will not be 1942.

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